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(1939-40)

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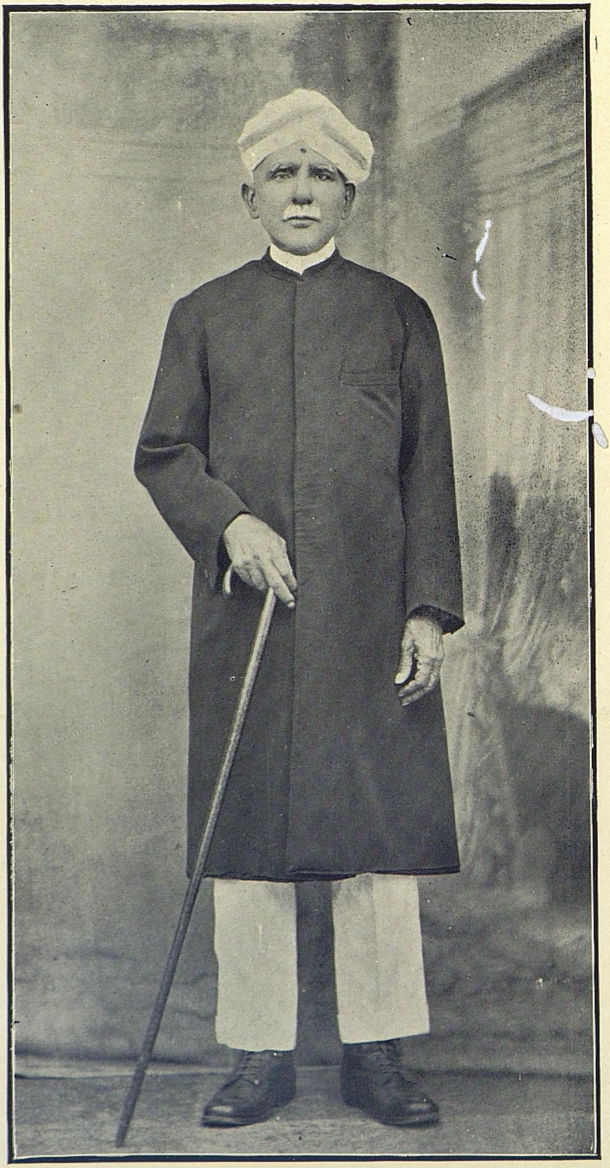

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S. SRIKANTAYA

RAJAKARYAPRASAKTA RAO BAHADUR M. SHAMA RAO

Mr. Shama Rao was born on Wednesday, the 15th August 1860. His ancestors came from Mahiṣi, a village in the Tirthahalli Taluq of the Shimoga District, Mysore State, and belonged to a good Vaidika family reputed for its scholarship and learning. In a spirit of adventure, his father Narayana Rao left the place, picked up a smattering of Kannada under the Amildar Poona Rama Rao and was Shekdar in Gundlupet, Mysore District, about the time Mr. Shama Rao was born. Mr. Shama Rao learnt Kannada in the old Maṭhās where literally only the three R's were taught to the pupils who attended the course. When he was nine years old he was sent to a Hindustani school at which the teacher, who was a tinker also, used to making lanterns. In August 1869 an English school was established at Gundlupet and Mr. Shama Rao was one of the students in that school from that time on until the beginning of 1875 when he went to Mysore to join the Raja's School as the Maharaja's College was then known. In June 1876 he married a girl of ten. He had lost his mother when he was five and his father died in 1877 and the life of the young man became thereafter miserable. He was a student in the Senior F.A. class but his excellent spirits sufferred as he was hard up for the bare necessaries of life. Out of a scholarship of four rupees, one rupee and annas eight was deducted for the school fees and he had to manage his studies and live with the balance in great misery and in abject poverty, as he says in his diary from which this short note is taken. After passing the First examination in Arts in December 1877, when he was not yet eighteen, unable to go to Bangalore to continue for the B.A. as there were no B.A. classes in the Maharaja's College at Mysore at that time, he did not know what to do. The scholarship of seven rupees and eight annas which he got

from the Palace for standing first in the examination was supplemented by Mr. P. N. Krishnamurthy, afterwards Dewan of Mysore, who gave a scholarship of six rupees per month for two years, on the recommendation of a lawyer of Mysore, Mr. S. Ramaswami Aiyar. So Mr. Shama Rao became a free scholar above want as a student in the Central College, Bangalore. A graduate in 1880, feeling that he had no aptitude for the Engineering College he left it and joined appointment as Sub Registrar at Kollegal in November 1880 where he continued as such till the 25th May 1885. His life at Kollegal may be described in his own words: "My life at Kollegal ran smooth though the place was very unattractive for want of intellectual companions. My constant companion was one Ramachandra Rao, who was a copyist in the Munsiff Court there. The Munsiff Subbanna Char was an old fossil who spent a lot of money in securing copies of his old judgements, printing them and sending copies to the judges of the High Court and others, only thereby to set off his own unwisdom. However, he used to show me with pride the conventional acknowledgments with thanks he received from those to whom he sent copies. My work as Sub Registrar was extremely light not requiring even two hours a day."

While he was at Kollegal his wife died at Mysore in 1882 and he married a second wife who, full of years, died a couple of years ago. He passed the M.A. Examination in Mental Philosophy and Sociology in January 1885, obtaining the Norton Prize for Political Economy. Mr. Bhabha appointed him as an Assistant Master in the Maharaja's College where he entered upon his duties on the 26th May 1885. In 1888 he was appointed as Head Master of the Triplicane High School but somehow he did not like the place and came back. His only son was born in 1890 but alas! he died still young many years ago leaving behind him several daughters and a son, M. Rama Rao, who represents now this distinguished family. Though thirty years old Mr. Shama Rao made bold to appear for the Mysore Civil Service Examination which was held in July 1892 being the

only one from the men in service to take that risk. He was recommended by the board of examiners for nomination. In October 1892 he was transferred from the Maharaja's College as Assistant to the Educational Secretary and it was not till the 28th December 1895 that he was entertained as an Assistant Commissioner in the Mysore Service. When he was in the Educational Department he started a magazine called "Granthamala" for the publication of original works in Kannada and Mr. Bapu Subba Rao was his co-adjutor. He gained considerable experience in the General, Muzarai and Revenue Departments of the State. He was Assistant Secretary to the Government with the Dewan from 1901 and did valuable work for Sir P. N. Krishnamurthy, who had helped him in early years. He was appointed Registrar, Co-operative Societies, in 1905 to organize that Department: and he has been known as the Father of the Co-operative Movement in Mysore. In 1911 he became Deputy Commissioner and in 1912 he was appointed as the head of the Educational Department in the Mysore State at the instance of Sir Visvesvaraya and he worked successfully the scheme for the expansion of elementary education in the State. The number of the school-going population trebled in six years and elementary education was made compulsory in several parts of the State. He retired in 1918. He was a Fellow of the Mysore University and a member of the Mysore University Council for many years. He served on the Legislative Council both as an Official-member and after his retirement for over twenty years. When the Public Library was started in Bangalore he naturally was its President and continued to conduct the library work till recently, when on account of old age and domestic worries he resigned the Presidentship. He was a foundation-member of the Mythic Society, and a member of its Committee throughout: in 1925 he was the Chairman of the Committee of the Mythic Society during the temporary absence of Rev. Father Tabard in France, and after his death in 1926 became the President to which Office he was elected

year after year. The last meeting of the Committee of the Mythic Society was held on the 3rd July 1939 at which Mr. Shama Rao presided. He spent about two hours very jovially with friends who attended the meeting. Father Ambruzzi complimented Mr. Shama Rao on his vigorous spirit, active habits and sound health. He was just then narrating not merely his past experiences in life but was referring to some economic work regarding the rural family budgets at Yelahanka which he had conducted only a few days previously. At that meeting it was resolved to re-elect him as President at the Annual Meeting which came off a week later but fate had ordained otherwise and within forty-eight hours the news flashed that he was no more. On Wednesday the 5th July 1939 in the morning he had a shave, bath and ablutions, preparing himself to go out for his usual constitutional rounds. On that day also he intended to call upon the British Resident, the Hon'ble Lt.-Col. H. J. Gordon, C.I.E., O.B.E., who had so willingly consented to preside over the Meeting to be held the following Monday.

The loss to me persomally is very great. I had known him for over thirty-five years since my boyhood and on the Committee of the Mythic Society itself I was associated with him for over a score of years and there was not a single meeting which he missed and his opinions were most highly valued by every member of the Committee. Mr. Shama Rao was held in great esteem for his sterling character, learning, piety, affable manners, ripe experience and sound advice by all who came into contact with him.

The following well-deserved tributes paid to him by leading citizens of the State in their Annual Addresses to the Mythic Society may be referred to as some indication of the value of his life and work to Mysore and particularly to the Mythic Society.

Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, a former Dewan of Travancore, Mysore and Baroda, said, "In this Society of antiquarian researches so carefully nurtured by Rev. Father Tabard in

his days and now by your distinguished President Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, historical activities are kept alive." Mr. F. R. Sell, Principal, Central College and for many years associated as Editor of this Journal, observed that it was hard to find a worthier President for the Society. We had a wise guide in Mr. Shama Rao described as the "*Nestor*" of the scholars in Mysore by the Hon'ble Lt.-Col. C. T. C. Plowden. According to Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, "Father Tabard has had a worthy successor in your present President Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, one of the earliest band of patriotic scholars who have laboured hard in the field of Mysore History" and in the words of Rajamantrapravina S. P. Rajagopalachari, "I need hardly tell you that much of what the Society has been able to achieve is due to the inspiring guidance of your President, Rao Bahadur Rajakaryaprasakta M. Shama Rao, a worthy successor to the late Father Tabard. His faith in the future of the Mythic Society is immense and I trust he will long be spared to guide our activities". Sir Charles Todhunter, Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, described Mr. Shama Rao as "A living example of the saying that age is a matter of feeling and not of years and I am sure we all hope that he will grow younger and younger as he continues to guide your deliberations with his accustomed skill and care." According to Father Browne "Mr. Shama Rao came from a community many members of which had distinguished themselves, amongst whom could be mentioned Dewan Purniah and the late Sir P. N. Krishnamurthy. As an Officer of the State he had successfully introduced and established the Co-operative movement and controlled the destinies of the Educational Department for several years. He was a profound scholar and thinker, besides being a historian of Mysore whose works on his native land were well-known. Naturally, he was elected unanimously President of the Society year after year."

Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao was a profound Kannada Scholar, one of the Founders

of the Kannada movement, a talented historian and a distinguished Civil Servant of the State. More than a generation and a half ago he wrote in English a short history on the Progress of Mysore under Native Administration. His Kannada History of Mysore is a simple, readable narrative of events with which generations of boys and girls are familiar. He was in close touch with the administration of Mysore for over fifty years. He was a founder of the Karnataka Sahitya Parishat. His work "Modern Mysore" is a chronology of events more particularly from the middle of the seventeenth century up-to-date based on the unquestioned testimony of the vast volume of historical material available. He was the first to give us a connected outline of the history of Mysore and as Rajasevasakta S. Hiriannaiya observed, "At an age when he might have rested on his oars he published a more detailed and up-to-date history in two volumes which was a monument of industry and research for which every Mysorean owed him a debt of gratitude." The importance of this work lay much more in his rescuing the memory of an illustrious Prince Mummadi Krishnaraja Wadiyar from the undeserved censure to which he was subject at the time and for having brought out the many noble and humane qualities of the Prince, his generosity, deep religious devotion, munificent patronage of the liberal arts and letters and calm serenity under trying misfortunes for which the late Krishnaraja Wadiyar III and his memory have been cherished by the people of Mysore to this day.

S. Srikantaya.

References

In the letters addressed to the General Secretary the following gentlemen have expressed as follows :

Rajasabhabhushana K. Chandy writes :

"Mr. Shama Rao was a great scholar, a great patriot and a great gentleman. When he was seriously ill many years ago, I saw him and learned of his great and complete trust in God. It was a lesson to me, as was his

life. For character and attainment, it is difficult to think of any one for whom one could feel a higher regard. May God rest his soul.

The loss to you personally and as Secretary is particularly heavy. I presume there would be an early opportunity taken for publicly recording his great services to the Society. I hope that you would be able to find a President worthy to succeed Father Tabard and Mr. Shama Rao."

RAJASEVASAKTA DIWAN BAHADUR DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, WRITES :

" Mr. Shama Rao has lived on to an age when people usually look forward to death as a welcome release although in Mr. Shama Rao's case, he was quite in good health to have gone on for some time longer with comfort. Kindly accept on behalf of the Mythic Society my condolences with the members on the death of the President, who had filled with distinction and equal acceptability the place so well occupied by the late Father Tabard."

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REPORT ON THE GILGIT EXCAVATION IN 1938

By M. S. Kaul Shastri, M.A., M.O.L.
Srinagar, Kashmir

From the day in the year 1931 I requested the then Hon'ble Home Minister to permit me to send an Excavation Party to the find-place at Nawapura in Gilgit, the question of excavating the Mounds there under a competent supervision remained under correspondence. The credit of giving a practical shape to it and taking effective steps in the said direction goes entirely to the present Hon'ble Prime Minister. Under his orders the site plans of the Mounds were got prepared and forwarded to me. On the 4th of August 1938 I was ordered to proceed at once with the Party consisting of the Excavationist, the Photographer, the Clerk and the two peons to Gilgit to take up the excavation there.

The Party started on the 5th reaching the destination on the 18th. The distance from Srinagar to Gilgit is 228 miles. Though the two places are interconnected by a road maintained by the P.W.D. yet there is no way for the wheeled traffic beyond Sonerwani, a sub-station immediately after Bandipur. From there onwards the road serves at best only as a bridlepath.

Even a day's rainfall causes destruction of the road and preparation of a temporary foot-path not more than a yard in width where the traveller on horseback often journeys at the risk of his life.

All the distance on the other side of Astore was travelled by the Party during the night-time as going in the day-time that side is often troublesome owing to scarcity of water and excessive heat. Wherever the scenery was at its best views were photographed.

The Party halted for one day at Gilgit and the Superintendent saw the Political Agent, Mr. Gilbreth and requested him to order the facilities being made for the Party's undertaking at Nawapura. The latter was kind enough to order everything being provided promptly.

Accordingly on the following day the Party started to Nawapura, a village three miles from Gilgit on the road to Gupis and pitched the camp in a private garden adjacent to the Mounds. These are situated in a line on an elevation of fifty feet from the level of the garden below (see plate No. 1407).

Excavation

Excavation was started on the 20th of August and finished on the 26th. First of all, the Mounds were marked after taking their general view from the West to the East as A, B, C and D and then the excavation of the Mound C was taken in hand as the same was already dug by the cowherds in search of wood in the year 1931. On excavation, it appeared to be a stone edifice of three storeys and roundish in form, twenty-two feet in height with mud plaster inside and sloping externally up to the top. Its circumference measured internally fifty feet. To strengthen the wall of the edifice and to support the roof on the top, woodwork was used. It consisted of :—

16 uprights built by twos at varying intervals with the wall,

1 beam 17 feet long and 18 inches both in thickness and breadth with the two ends fixed in the wall diametrically,

4 couples of uprights fixed between the stones in basement storey 2 feet away from the wall in the inside at irregular intervals,

5 uprights standing in the centre on the diametrical beam with crosses at the bottom fixed with the 4 couples mentioned above.

The Mounds A, B and C also revealed stone edifices of similar make and form without any wood-work inside and measuring diametrically 5 feet, 6 feet and 6 feet respectively. They were 10 feet in height uniformly.

Although the 20th was devoted to the Mound C, it yielded nothing but miniature *stupas* of clay.

On the 21st the same Mound was excavated when it yielded besides the above, torn leaves of birchbark manuscript or manuscripts and one complete Manuscript No. 1 (see plates Nos. 1433 and 1436) below the central poles at the depth of seven feet. In the afternoon of the same day Mound A was opened and it yielded a few miniature *stupas* of clay.

On the 22nd the excavation was continued of the Mounds C and A, the former yielding torn leaves and miniature *stupas* as on the previous days and Manuscript No. 2, complete, of birchbark found below the junction of the cross with the outer central pole in the south at the depth of seven feet and nine inches (see plates No. 1424 and 1424 A) and Manuscript No. 3 (see plate No. 1439) found near the same place but at a lower depth.

On the 23rd the excavation was resumed as before. Mound C yielded the Manuscript No. 4 (see plate No. 1438) on palm leaf and two damaged fragments of manuscripts. The Mound A which was completely excavated yielded :

1 oval wooden pole at a depth of 9 feet in the centre, containing (1) four ivory rings, (2) one brass ring, (3) eight iron rings, (4) one ear-pendent, (5) two iron pieces, (6) three brass pieces, ((7) four pieces of gold, (8) several pearl beads red and white, (9) a number of birchbark amulets.

Exposure of Mound B was commenced in the afternoon. It yielded :

1 wooden boxlet with a blue paint on the outside in the centre at the depth of 11 feet, containing bits of gold pearls and coral beads all wrapped in cloth.

Mound C continued to be under excavation on the 24th as before. Mound D was opened in the afternoon.

On the 25th, Mounds C and D were completely excavated, the former giving nothing further even though dug to the very foundation of the basement storey and the latter, one wooden pot similarly shaped as that found in Mound A at the depth of 12 feet in the centre containing :—

1 gold-plated amulet with the image of the Lion-head on both sides, 1 ivory-ring, 4 iron pieces, 1 gold coin without any legend, 1 piece of metal mixture, 1 brass and several coral beads with the dust or ashes of some Buddhist saint and a number of amulets.

Almost everyday during the excavation of these Mounds the officers of the British Agency, Gilgit, used to visit the site and inspect the work very minutely. In the afternoon of the 25th both Messrs. Gilbreth and Batty, the Political Agent and his Assistant, expressed a desire to see the antiquities and take their photographs. Accordingly, these were arranged on a table and photographed (see plate No. 1422).

On the 26th excavation was carried on here and there near the Mounds but nothing worth mention was found there.

On the 27th as desired by the British Political Agent the Party went to Hanzal, about seven miles from Nawapura on the road to Gupis, and after taking a photograph of the general view of the Mound there trial excavation of the same was made but it yielded nothing (see plate No. 1426).

On the 28th early in the morning the photographer was sent to the hillside (in the close neighbourhood of Nawapura) overlooking the Kargah rivulet to photograph the image of Buddha carved on the hillside (see plate No. 1429). The people of the place call and view the image as of a giantess though still remembering and using the old Sanskrit name of the place, *i.e.*, Yoginipitho.

The Party marched back on the same day to Gilgit halting there on the 29th to make transport arrangements and to pack the findings safely. On the 30th the Party started on the return journey reaching Srinagar on the 9th of September 1938.

Major Antiquities

The number of the Manuscripts as found above comes to six, the four being complete and the rest in fragments. These are all written on birchbark excepting the one which is on palm leaf. The four complete ones have been marked as 1, 2, 3 and 4. They were all found under two wooden covers each having the papier-machie work on the outerside of the covers. The leaves were held together by a record lace or string passing through a hole punched in the middle of each and wound round the whole set. Covers of Manuscripts 1, 2 and 4 are richly painted on the inside and bear resemblance perhaps to those of the Manuscripts from Nepal which Rajendralal Mitra used in preparing his edition of the "*Aṣtasāhasrikā Pragnāpāramitā*" and which he described at length in his Preface to the same.

Description of Manuscripts

1. Manuscript of the work entitled *Sanghātasūtra*, in Buddhist Sanskrit. Written in Śāradā characters by Candana, son of Maniyaka, the Chief Officer of the Gilgit Durbar (Mahādivīra, current as an official designation up to the 11th century A.D. See Khemendra's *Deśopadeśa* and *Narmamāla*). In the year three (read the ending colophon as given in plate No. 1436).

On the inside of the top cover are painted the Puriśa or the Lord of Gilgit who bears two names, one Sanskrit and one Tibetan, *i.e.*, Nandideva and Patola with the title of Ṣāhānuṣāhi and his minister dressed in the Gilgit costume. They are shown with the requisite material in their hands perhaps in the act of worshipping the two ladies seated in front of them, the lady removed from the king pointing with her right hand with a rosary towards the lady on her right side and having the image of Buddha in miniature near her left shoulder. It may be that the scene depicted here is that of the king and his

minister and their consorts. The name of the queen is Ananga-devi (see plate No. 1433). On the inside of the bottom cover is painted Buddha in the lecturing attitude in the middle of his two devotees Kāśyapa and Maudgalyāyana or Sarvasura and Bhaiṣajyasena in the meditative pose (see plate No. 1436).

This contains about eighty leaves measuring 9 inches by 3 inches with 8 lines on each side of the leaf with twenty-five letters in a line. It is composed in the form of a discourse between Buddha and the Bodhisattvas Sarvasura and Bhaiṣajyasena and it discusses the Buddhist doctrines here and there, the major portion being devoted to the glorification of accepting the Buddhist Faith and describing some *Jātaka* tales of the Buddha and the merits of hearing, reciting, writing and preserving the Buddhist scriptures specially those of the Mahāyāna. The name of the Manuscript is preserved in an idiom of the present-day Kashmiri dialect (*Sanghāt Vāharāvun*) which literally means the opening of a sacred text with a view to display and recitation and metaphorically arranging an exhibition of something elaborate but useless.

2. Duplicate of the above. With the painting of *Āryāvalokiteśvara* (the Bodhisattva of the affectionate glance) with the image of Amitābha in the crown and with the image of the Buddha drawn over his head in the background. The image of King Nandideva is drawn to his right near the leg (see plate No. 1436). It contains about a hundred leaves measuring 10 inches by 3 inches with eight lines having twenty-five letters in each. Written in Tibetan characters.

3. Duplicate of the above. Contains about 40 leaves measuring 11 inches by 3 inches with 6 lines and 32 letters per line.) Written in Tibetan characters.

Transliteration

Copy of the *Sanghātasūtra* in Devanagari characters has been submitted to the Hon'ble the Prime Minister after being prepared from Manuscript No. 1 and collated with Manuscripts 2 and 3, on November 25, 1938, for permiting the Superintendent to print and publish the same.

4. This is the Manuscript of a work called *Āryadharma* which emphasizes the duty of worshipping the Buddhist congregation, *stupas*, scriptures and the merits accruing therefrom. It has no beginning or end and the top of each leaf is torn. Contains about 30 leaves of 5 lines with 20 letters per line. On the inside of the covers is painted the image of some Buddhist saint (see plate No. 1436).

The language of the Manuscripts detailed above is the Buddhist Sanskrit.

Manuscripts in Fragments

These could not yet be deciphered for want of time.

Torn Leaves

Those which could be deciphered so far have been marked as A, B, C and D photographed and transliterated in Nāgari characters (see plates 1442–43 and their enclosures).

(A) Is a leaf from the Manuscript of *Kharanādanyāsa* the commentary on a work of Kharanāda on Medicine giving portion of a chapter relating to pregnancy. Both the text and the commentary are known at present in and through quotations only, though the former seems to have been as old as the *Aṣṭāngahridaya* of Vāgbhata. The text is quoted by Aruṇadatta in his commentary on the *Aṣṭāngahridaya* at page 249 and by Vācaspati in his commentary on the *Mādhava-nidāna* at page 50.

(B) Leaf from the Manuscript of a collection of fables on the model of the *Pançatantra* with the Buddhist colouring. The story narrated in the passage photographed is practically identical both in form and diction with the twentieth fable of the *Mitrabheda* of the *Pançatantra*.

(C) Leaf from the Buddhist Sanskrit Grammar closely following the Pāṇinian style and vocabulary. Belongs to the *Taddhita* section of the above work and as such gives the rules and illustrations regarding such formations as express the sense of being a son to etc., etc. Use of such illustrations as *Bauddha* and *Ārhata* conclusively proves that the work is of the Buddhist stamp.

(D) Leaves of a prose composition in Sanskrit recording the incantation of Mahāmāyuri who is invoked to protect the person of the king of Gilgit whose full name is Ṣāhānuṣāhi Navasurendra Vikramāditya Nandideva and of the queen Anangadevi and the retinue.

Age of the Manuscripts

The date of this Manuscript hoard cannot be later than the ninth century A.D. as the script in which some of these are written has a close affinity with the Śāradā script as used in the Avantivarman's inscription found at the Mārtāṇḍa Temple. Nor can it be earlier than the seventh century A.D. during which Strong-btsam.sgam-po is said to have been converted through the influence of his two wives one Nepalese and the other Chinese to Buddhism and to have sent his Minister Thonmi to India who after studying the current Indian Alphabets prepared the Tibetan character on the model of the Śāradā Alphabet and introduced the same in Tibet. The original of the *Sanghātasūtra* seems to have been got from Nepal because the custom of painting the covers was much in vogue in that country in those days as referred to above. It is therefore believable that the year of copying as given in the ending colophon of one Manuscript only, *i.e.*, No. 1 is of the Newari era which starts with 878 A.D. Manuscript No. 4 being on the palm leaf shows clearly that the material at least was got from Nepal and therefore it is more than probable that Gilgit enjoyed wide intercourse then with Nepal as it did with Kashmir.

Minor Antiquities

Plates Nos. 1434, 1435 and 1440.

Those which deserve special mention are (1) Miniature *stupas* of clay having in some cases flags on the crown. (2) Seals. (3) Sun-dried bricks. (4) Amulets. (5) Clay images.

1. Some of the miniature *stupas* which got broken revealed that the same were formed of two halves, upper and lower, and that just near the joining of the two there was an amulet imbedded underneath a seal or seals.

2. On the seals was imprinted the Buddhist Credal Formula as given at the end of the "*Pragnāpāramitā*" with certain corrections, which reads as follows :—

Ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetum teṣām tathāgato hyavadat
Teṣāmca yo Nirodha Evamvādi Mahāśramanaḥ.

3. Buddha is depicted on the sun-dried bricks with his favourite disciples Kāśyapa and Maudgalyāyana on his sides in the midst of numerous *stupas.*

4. The amulets are written on strips of birch-bark with an incantation invoking the Lord Buddha to grant the king Nandideva strength and longevity and folded in the form of triangles or rectangles or rolls.

5. Clay images also depict the same scene as on the sun-dried bricks with decorative richness and *stupas* arranged in a row only on the top.

What the Mounds Stand for

These represent in ruins the Dharmavihāra Monastery built by the King Nandideva if the mention of the Dharmavihāra at the end of *Sanghātasūtra* be taken to be significant enough.

Study of the finds as also of the names of several villages of the Gilgit Frontier establishes it beyond any doubt that the territory was only a few centuries back populated by the Buddhists and the Āryan civilization and culture had settled there for a millennium of years.

Transliteration in Devanagari Characters

PLATE 1442

A

1st Line. ....न्धन्ति तन्निमित्त आत्मनो मुख्यजात्यादिलम्भ इति ॥ ॥
खारणादन्यासे खुण्डिकागर्भावक्रान्ति शारीरं समाप्तम् ॥ ॥
खुण्डिकापहृतिगर्भावक्रान्त्योरेक एव सम्बन्धः द्वयो

2nd Line. रपि गर्भावक्रान्त्याख्यस्यैकस्यैवार्थस्याभिधानात् ॥ उत वा पूर्वेध्याये
मात्रादिसंभवो गर्भ इत्येतावदुक्तं नतु युक्तिर्दर्शिता कया युक्त्येत्यत इह सा
युक्तिरुच्यते............नां हि समुदययुगपद्गर्भसंभवः

3rd Line, तस्य युक्तिं प्रवक्ष्यामि प्राक् च तां भाषितामपीति ॥ तस्य गर्भे अनुप्रवेशो गर्भावक्रान्तिः महत्त्वं चास्य गर्भावक्रान्त्यर्थस्य विस्तरनिर्देशात् त्र्यहं रजस्वला भूत्वा पुराणरुधिरे स्रुत इत्यादि अनिस्रुते हि पुराणे रुधिरे न भवति ग

4th Line. र्भापत्तिः स्रुतेपि चाशुद्धस्नाता स्त्री पुंसा युक्ता भूता प्रसववद्गर्भं न विन्दति विकृतं वा जनयत्यत उभयमुक्तम् मनस्विनी सौमनस्याद्गर्भमादत्ते स्त्रीग्रहणं वन्ध्या-निषेधकं एकान्तरनिर्देशः शुक्रस्य

5th Line. ..यार्थं आप्यायितं हि शुक्रं गर्भाय भवति निरन्तरगमणेन तु अल्प-शुक्रत्वान्नोत्पद्यते गर्भो विकृतो वा जायते ॥ नवाहं गर्भभागिनी । यस्मान्नवाहानि ऋतुः तस्मात्रेषु गर्भं भजते तत्रायुग्मे

6th Line. ष्वहस्सु स्त्री युग्मेषु तु पुमान् भवेत् युग्मायुग्मत्वं चतुर्थदिवसात् प्रभृति चतुर्थषष्ठाष्टमा युग्मा दिवसाः पञ्चमसप्तमनवमा अयुग्माः ॥ इदानीं यया युक्तया पुंसा युक्ता स्त्री गर्भं विन्दति सा यु

7th Line. क्तिरभिधीयते शुद्धे स्थिते बीजभूते रक्त इत्यादि स्त्रिया रक्ते शुद्धे अदोषदुष्टे बीजभूते बीजावस्थे गर्भजनन......समये गर्भाशये योनावाशये वा दुष्टे । आशये गर्भस्स्थानम् तस्मिन्नित्थंभूते रक्ते

8th Line. योन्याशये च यदा स्त्रीसंयोगात् पुंसा हर्षच्युतं हर्षेणोदीरितं शुक्रमदुष्टं शुद्धं युज्यते संसृज्यते हर्षः प्रतीतिवि.....च्छुक्रशोनितसंयोगे बद्धं संयुज्यते ....

9th Line. योग्यानुरूपयाकृत्योपेतैः समन्वितं युक्तम् सुकर्मफलेन.......... ....तम् ॥ तद्रक्तं मातुः सम्बन्धात् च पितुः सम्बन्धात् च शुक्रं सत्त्वं चात्मा चेतना धातुः

PLATE 1442

B

1st Line. ब्रवीदधृतिपरीतस्य कुतो मे आहाराभिलाष इति । यतस्ताव...... ....तदपत्यभक्षणमारब्धवानहिनकुलयो..तं समर्पित

2nd Line. तावदहमुपायं तद्वधाय भवतः कथयामि येयं नकुलवसतिरितः प्रभृति......मत्स्यपिशितं प्रकीर्य तां यावत्सर्पावसतिस्ततः स एव

3rd Line. तं घातयिष्यति तथा चानुष्ठिते नकुलैरपि पिशितमार्गानुधाविभिः पूर्ववैरकथामनुस्मृत्य खण्डशोहिं कुर्वाद्भिः पूर्वदृष्टमेवादितः फणे

4th Line. वशिष्टो बकावासं गतः प्राप्य च शेषबकापत्यभक्षणमवाप्तं........ मतोहं ब्रवीमि उपायं चिन्तयेत् प्राज्ञ इति । अथ....तसमयेधिकरण

5th *Line.* प्रभृतिप्रत्यक्षधर्मशास्त्राश्रावितेन वनस्पतिना यथाप्रस्तुतमहाप्रभावतो धर्मबुद्धिरनेनार्थोपहृत इति । तत् च श्रुत्वा धर्मबुद्धिश्चिन्तयामास क

6th *Line.* थमवाक्पाद....ष्यतीत्यथवा कारणेनात्र भवितव्यं तत् सर्वथा बुद्धिसाध्यमेतदिति चिन्तयित्वाधिक(रण) पुरुषानाह अहो विस्मयो दाप्यविप्लुत एव

PLATE 1442

C

1st *Line.* ....वः । गौतमः । श्वाहल्कः । चैतुकः । वासुदेवः । पाण्डव

2nd *Line.* ......सांकृत्यः । माण्डव्यः । जैगीषव्यः ॥ ॥ कुंज....

3rd *Line.* ......पत्यं वा । एवं शंखायन्यः । लामायन्यः ।........

4th *Line.* ....अत्रिवद्व्यक्षरेभ्यः । अकारेकारान्तेभ्यः........

5th *Line.* ....कौन्तेयः । नादेयः । माहेयः । आत्रेयः । आ........

6th *Line.* ....विः । एवं रावणिः । दाशरथिः । द्रौणिः । कौंभकर्णिः ॥ ॥

1st *Line.* ....न्यः । कुजस्याप......

2nd *Line.* ...... ॥ स्त्रीवाचकेभ्यः शब्दे..........

3rd *Line.* एवं वैनतेयः । काद्रवेयः । ....

4th *Line.* न्नर्थे वा । वासवस्यापत्यम् ....

1st *Line.* ....भवति । तस्यापत्यमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वा । गर्गस्यापत्यं गा

2nd *Line.* ....तयो भवति । ण्यच्च तदन्तात् । प्राङ्नडादेः स्मृतः कुंजस्याप

3rd *Line.* ......श्वलायनः । वैतिकायनः । वैशंपायनः ॥ ॥

4th *Line.* ......गंगाया अपत्यं गांगेयः । गंगाया अपत्यं वा ।

5th *Line.* ...... ॥ इणतः ॥ इण्प्रत्ययो भवति । अतः । तस्यापत्यमित्येतस्मि

6th *Line.* ....इण्प्रत्ययो विधीयते । तस्यापत्यमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वा

PLATE 1443

D

1st *Line.* ....षाहानुषाहिपटोलषाहेः श्री न

2nd *Line.* ....पश्यतु शरदां शतम् ॥ तद्यथा हरे खरे खुरे मले

3rd *Line.* ....स्वाहा ॥ स्वस्ति भवतु षाहानुषाहि पटोलषाहेश्श्री

4th *Line.* ....रानन्दपंचमहाराक्षस्यो योहि बोधिसत्त्वो मातुः कुक्षिगतो रक्षतु

5th *Line.* लाकपिला चेति एताः पञ्चमहाराक्षस्यो रिद्धिमत्यो द्युतिमत्यो वर्णवत्यो

6th Line. नुषाहिपटोलषाहेश्रीनवसुरेन्द्रादित्यनन्दिदेवस्य सपरिवारस्य अनङ्ग-देव्याः

1st Line. ....पूर्वोत्तरे आषाढे द्वे अभिजित्श्रवणस्तथा इत्येतानि सप्त

2nd Line. ....यन्ति तान्यप्यनया महामायूर्या विद्याराज्या षाहानुषाहिपटोल

3rd Line. ..श्रीमदनङ्गदेव्या रक्षां कुर्वन्तु जीवतु वर्शशतं पश्यतु शरदां शतं ॥ धनिष्ठाशत

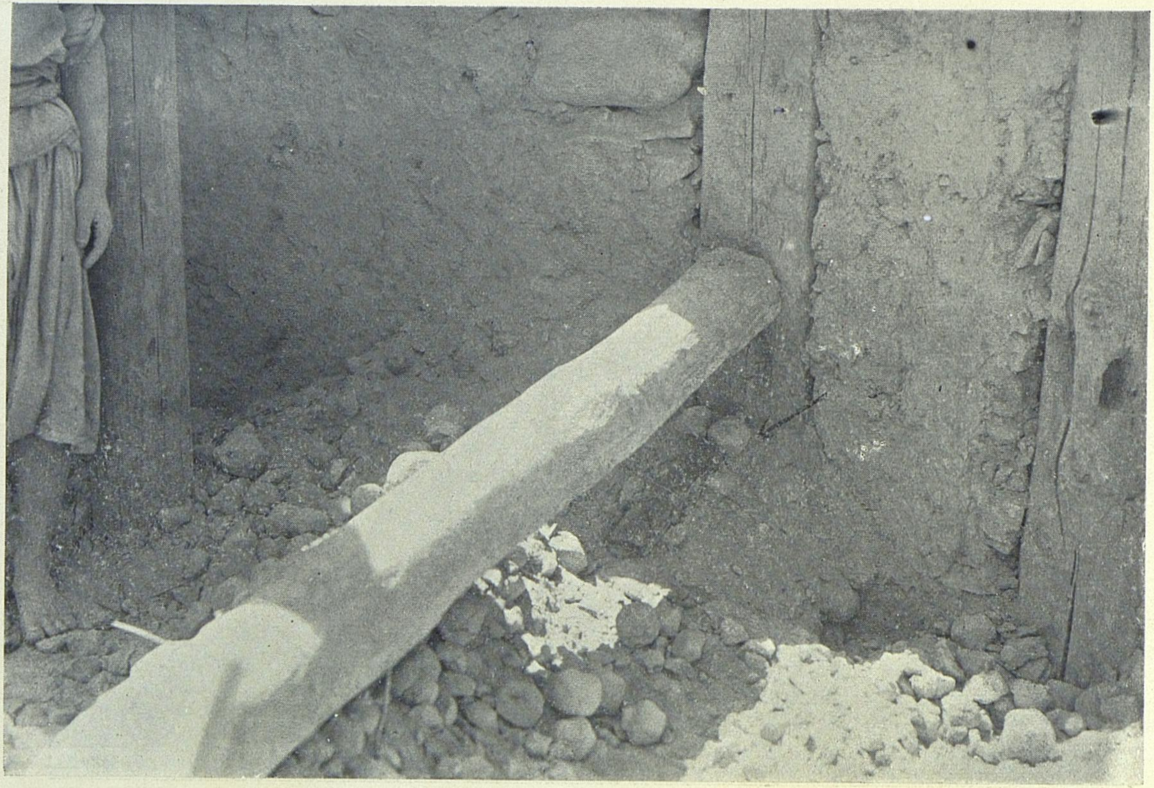
4th Line. ..इत्येतानि सप्त नक्षत्राणि उत्तरद्वारिकाणि स्थितानि यान्युत्तरां दि

5th Line. ..षाहानुषाहेः श्रीनवसुरेन्द्रादित्यनन्दिदेवस्य सपरिवारस्य श्रीमदनङ्गदे

6th Line. ....ग्रहनक्षत्रेषु चरंतो ह्रासवृद्धिं सुखदुःखं क्षेमसु

Plate No. 1407

Plate No. 1422



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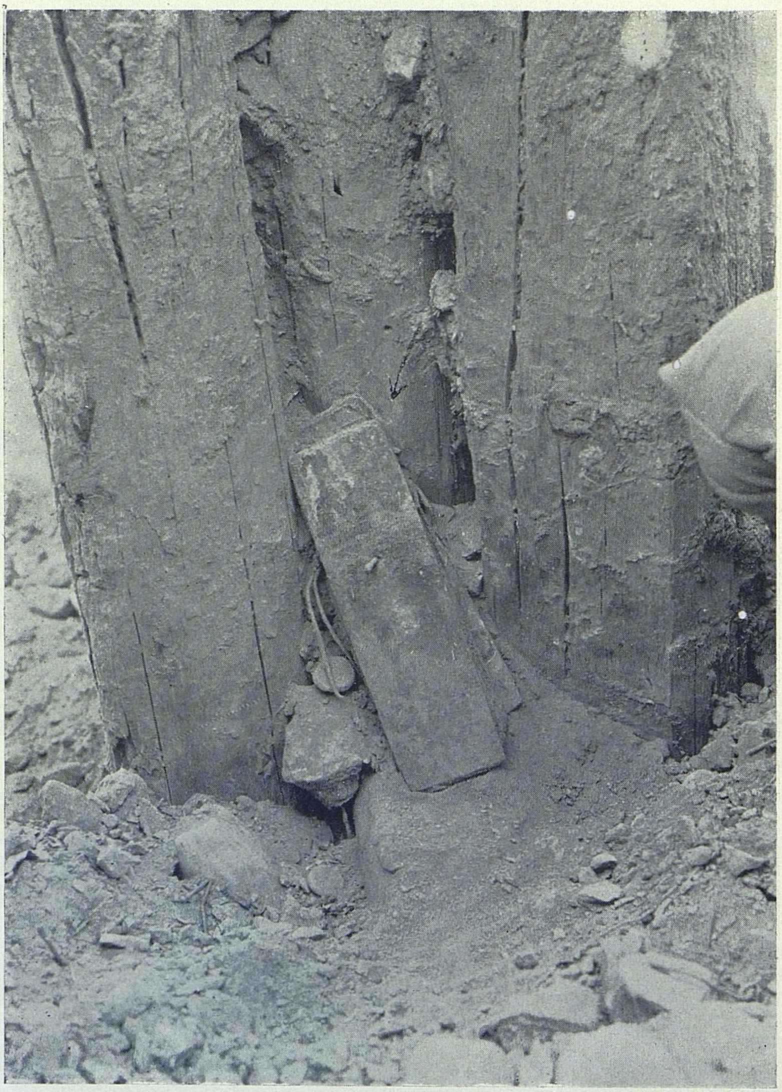

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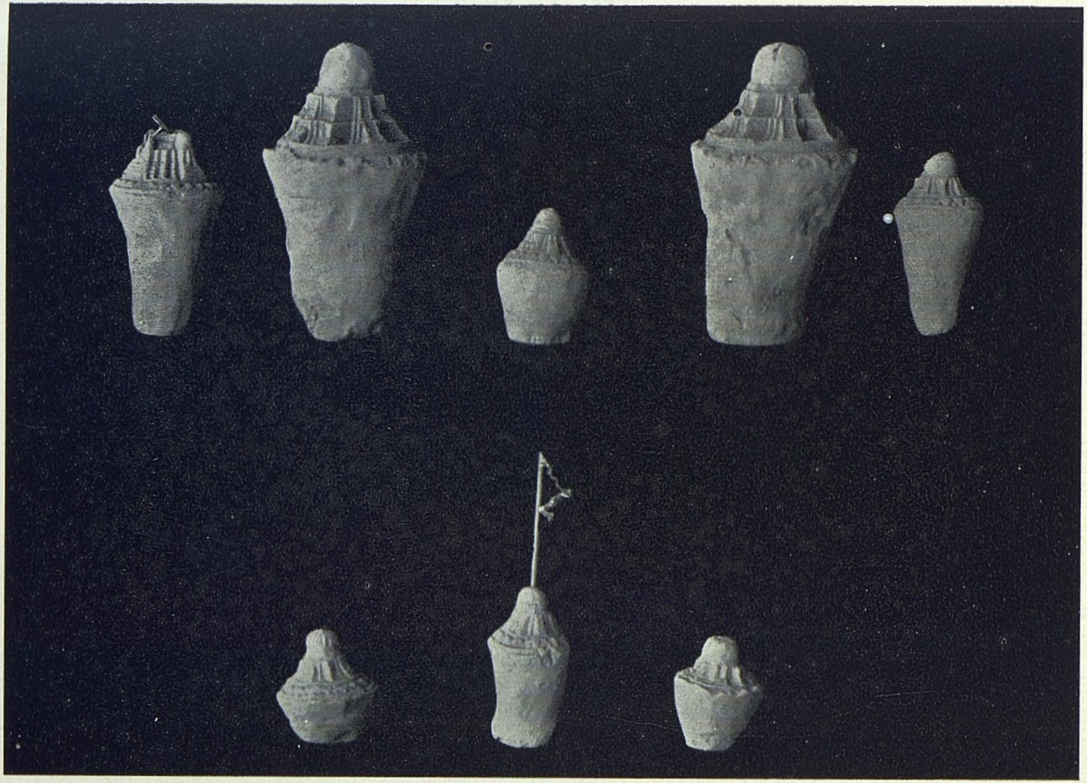

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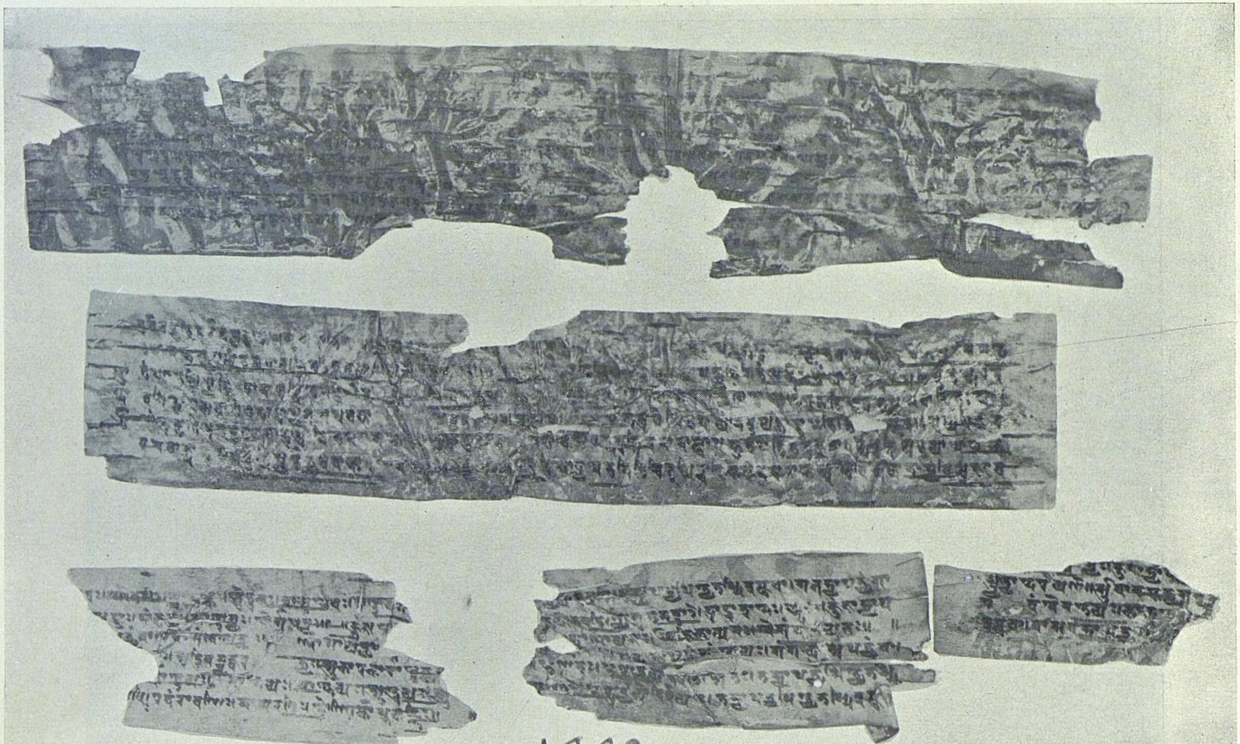
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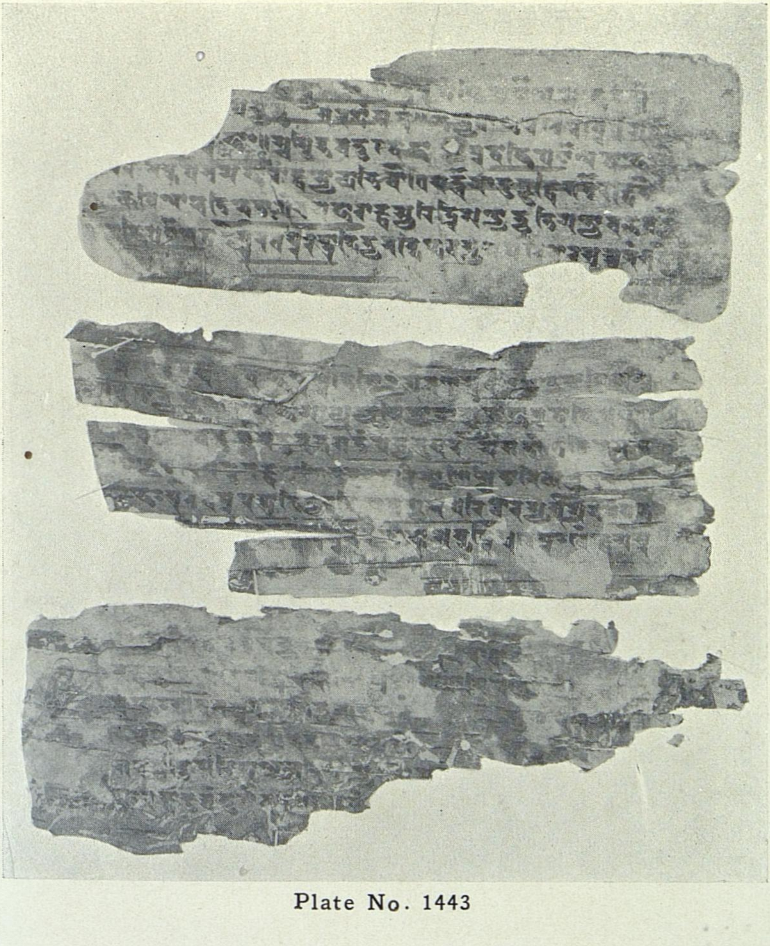

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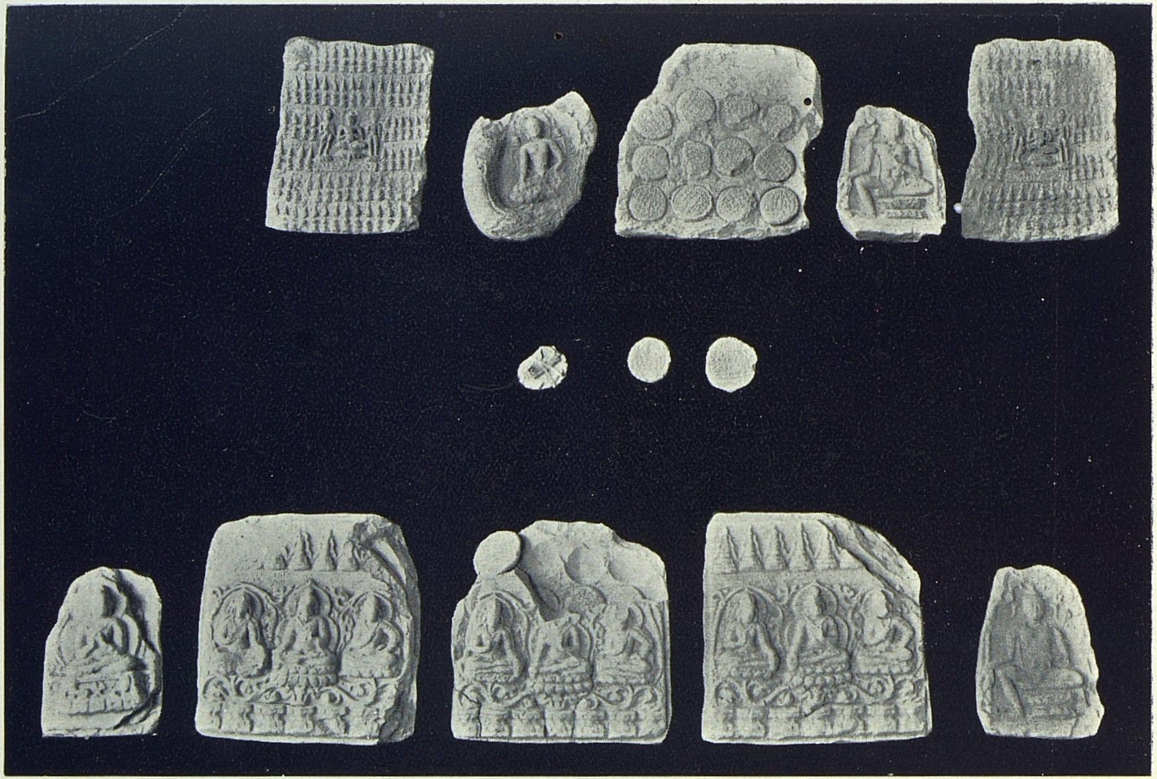

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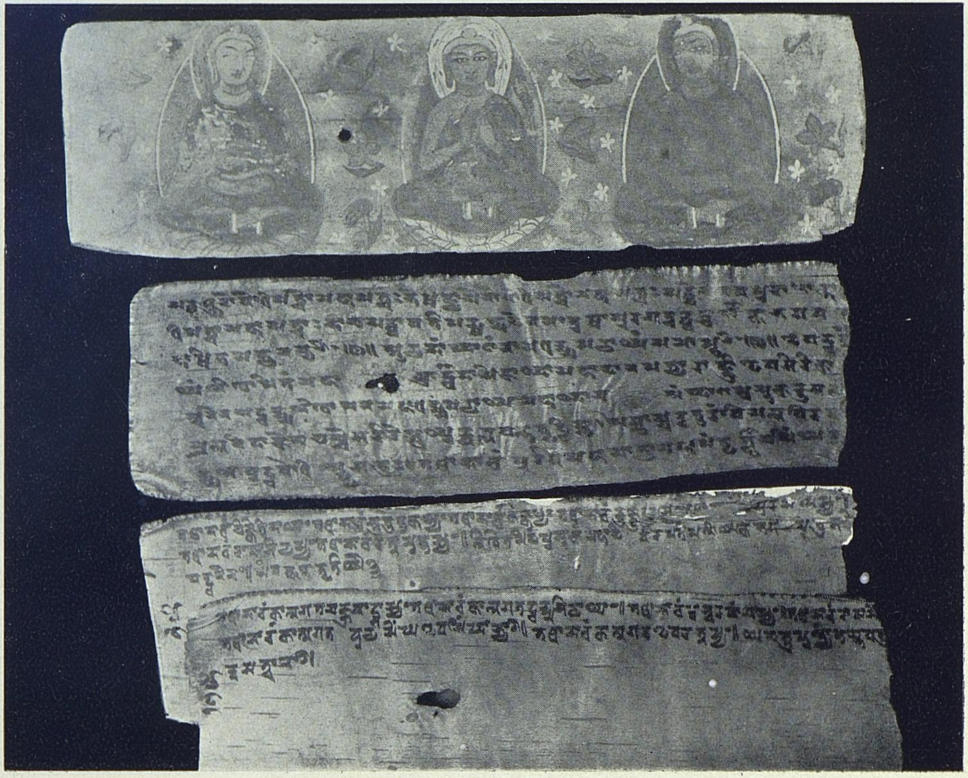

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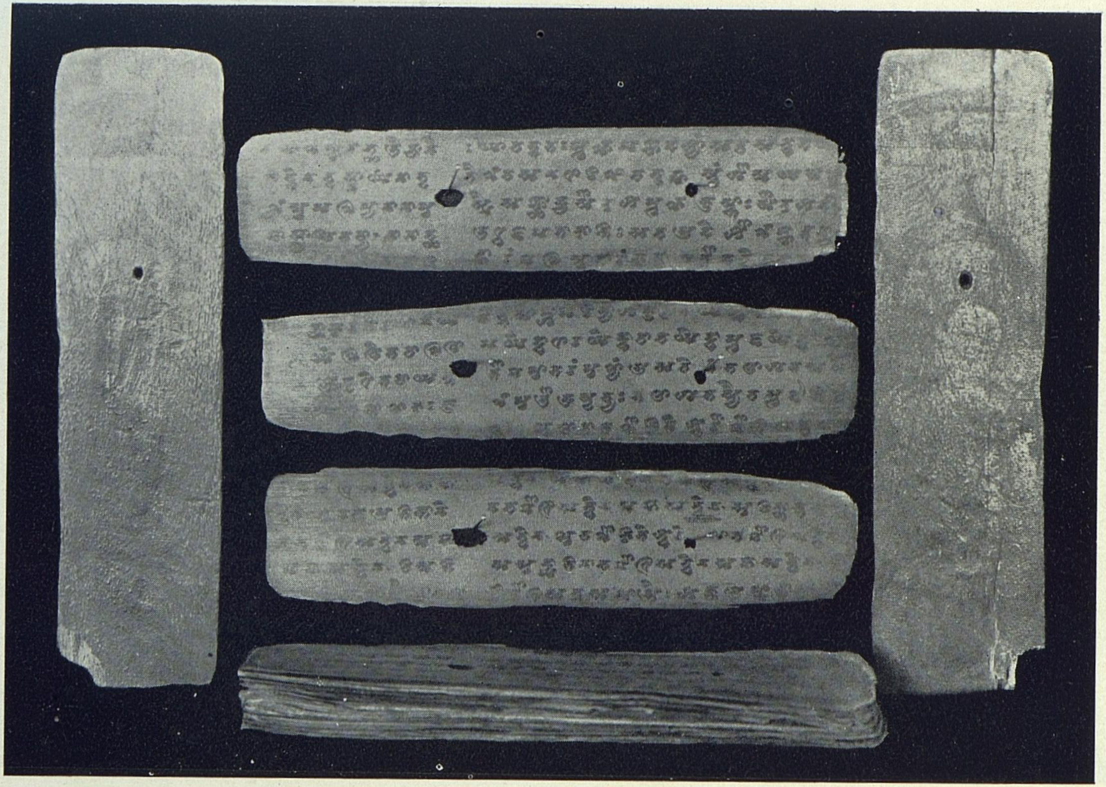

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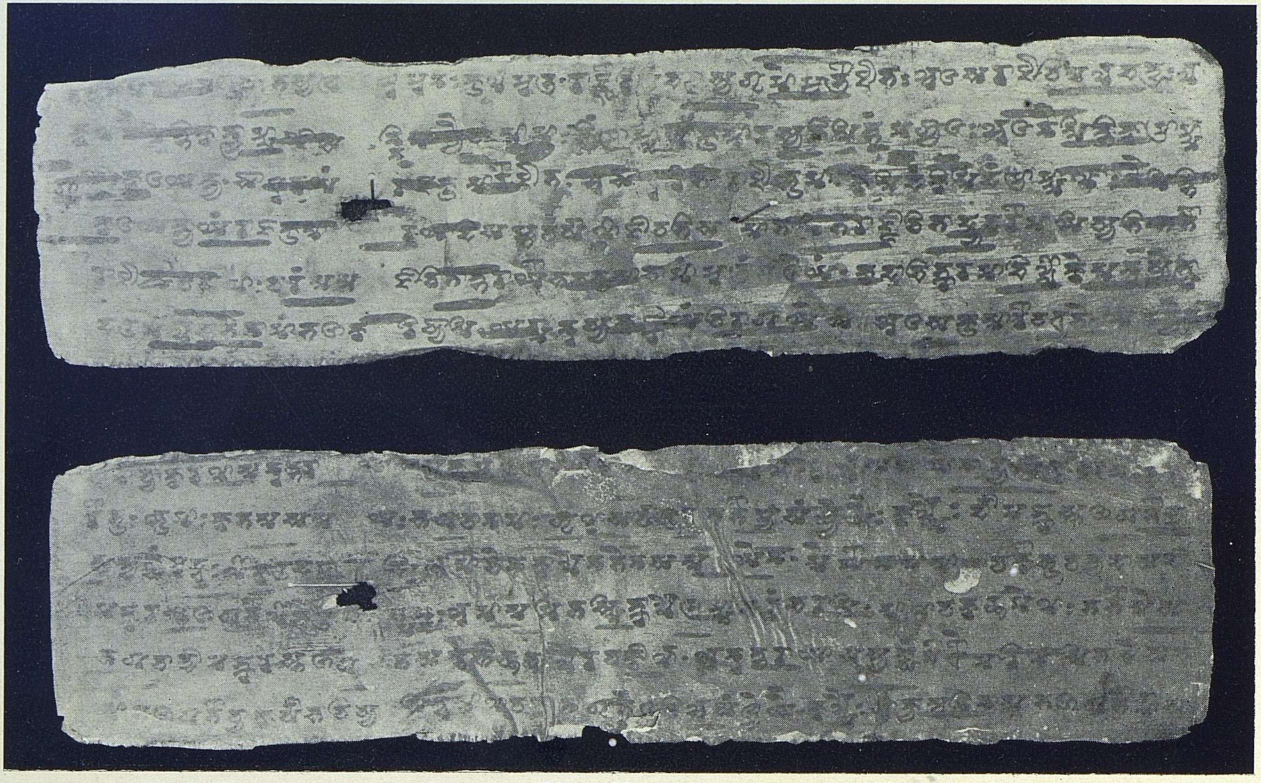
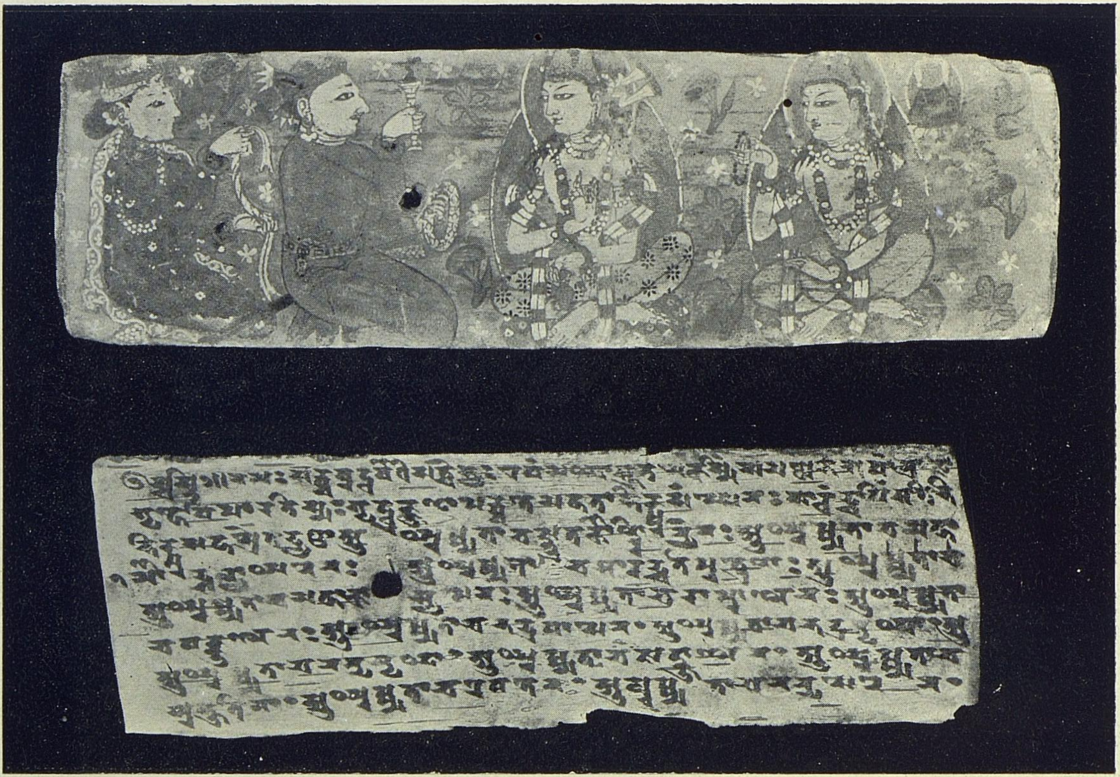


Plate No. 1439

Plate No. 1426

Plate No. 1429



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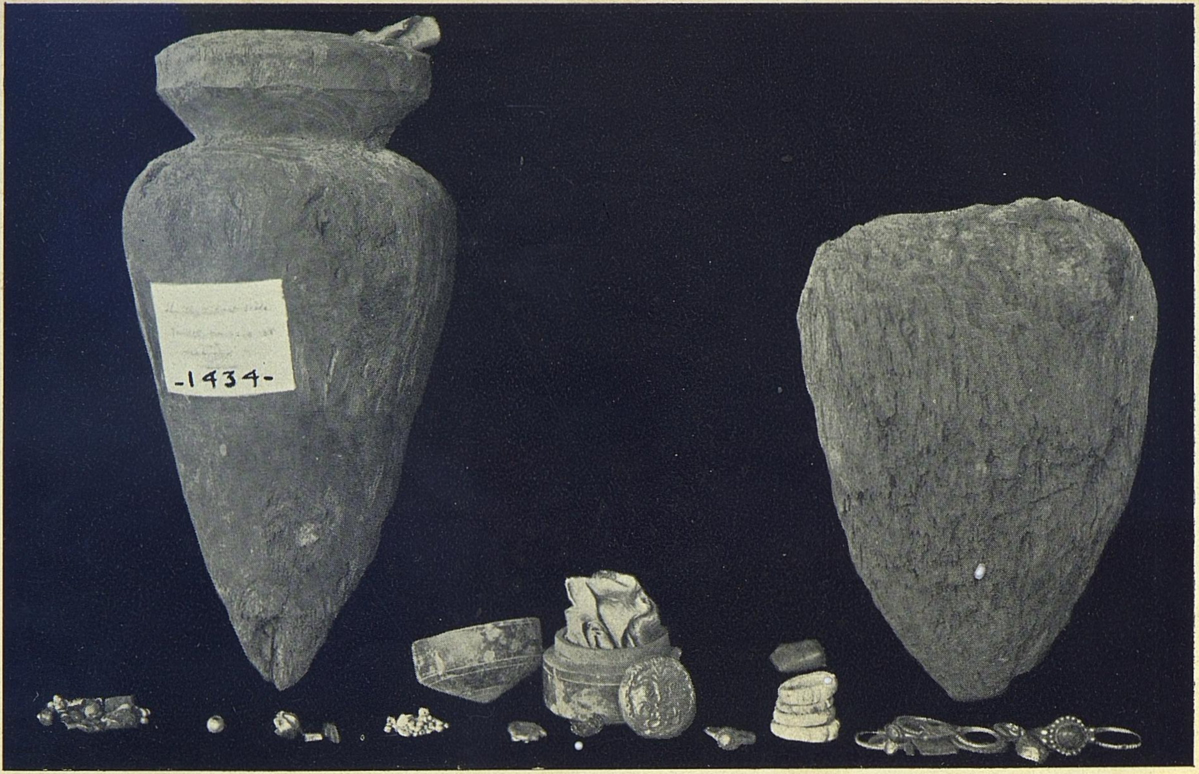

Plate No. 1434

FROG FOLK-LORE

By Dr. S. T. Moses, M.A., D.Sc., F.Z.S., F.R.A.I.

From the early beginnings of human history, many animals have inspired fear and consequently veneration in the heart of man. One such is the Frog, the subject of this paper, which also deals with a near relation, the Toad.

Among animals, the frog is extraordinary in that it lacks a neck, which *e.g.*, in man, being composed of muscles, can be raised, lowered or twisted. As if in compensation to the rigid pose of the head of the unfortunate creature, which needs to be ever vigilant against a horde of enemies from snakes to herons and foxes, the eyes are set high. The whole appearance of the animal is, therefore, queer, a fact well-expressed in the following quaint lines:—

"What a queer bird the frog are
When he sit he stand almost
When he walk he fly almost
When he sing he cry almost
He aint got no tail, hardly either
He sit on what he aint got—almost."

Frogs and toads by their ugly aspect and clammy touch have frightened all and sundry, from the unsophisticated to the cultured. Lady Westernys, an Oriental scholar and mystic, whose ashes after cremation were brought to the Ganges early in 1932, had a constant horror for frogs and toads, which she believed possessed an uncanny but evil influence over those who came under their spell. In Europe, *e.g.*, in Tuscany and in Tyrol toads are venerated and to kill one is a sacrilege. In South India many castes have a frog sept among them and the members of this sept will not injure frogs. A *gōtra* of Janappas is named 'Kappala' (frog) and the members of this *gōtra* will not hurt a frog, because when once their ancestors fished a pond, they got not fish, but a haul of big frogs! In Malabar the frog has not much importance

attached to it except in black magic. The humour of the Malayalee is apparent in the Malayalam proverb which refers to insignificant offerings as 'Thavalai pidicu Gaṇapathiku veca pola': catching a frog and placing it before Ganapathy, the elephant-headed and pot-bellied god. The toad is such a baneful creature that the *Manu Samhita* orders the discontinuance of the study of the Vedas if a toad passes between the preceptor and his disciple.

The term 'frog' occurs in the science of farriery and in railway parlance; in the former, it is the hard projecting substance in the hollow of a horse's foot and in the latter, a section of a rail or rails at a point where two lines cross or of a switch from one line to another.

According to the *Manu Samhita* the stealer of cloth, woven of vegetable fibres, is condemned to be reborn as a frog. A Purāṇic story tells us how once Lakṣmi and Viṣṇu tested the sincerity of two worshippers. They appeared before them first as a goat and its kid, which latter was about to be sacrificed in spite of the mother's protests, then as a sickly old father and his daughter and last as a starving mother and her son, who stole some food. One worshipper withstood the test by succouring the kid, helping the daughter and feeding the mother and the son, but the other failed and so was condemned to become a toad. The female frog is said to be the spirit of Mandodari, the wife of Rāvaṇa, the King of Ceylon who had carried away Sīta of the Rāmāyaṇa. According to a Christian superstition, toads are good Christians, who, having vowed to go on pilgrimages, were not allowed to fulfil this obligation by the cruel hand of death. So these animals are wandering hither and thither muddling their way to shrines, which have, perhaps, long ceased to exist. St. Michael's Church at Schwarz in the Tyrol is closed to the public on New Year Eve, the popular belief being that a huge toad worships there then. It is said to crawl up to the altar and offer prayers mixed with copious tears.

In Malabar the origin of frogs is stated as follows. Once when the God of death was taken away by the greater God of

Death, men did not die, though they became very old, shrunk to skin and bone and bent like the letter S. Rheumatism also played havoc and they could only crawl, their legs having become bent. These venerable beings were given hammocks in their houses by the womenfolk, who could not think of any other safe place for these frog-like Methuselahs. Later Yama was freed and he immediately sent his messengers to clear off his arrears. They came to the earth but these ancients jumped out of the hammocks and hid themselves in fields, under bushes, in ponds, etc. The messengers returned empty-handed not having found the old men anywhere. Yama appealed to Indra, Brahma and Śiva but in vain. At last Viṣṇu told him the truth and decreed that these old men should continue to live as a new species of animals, *viz.*, the frogs. The distorted human appearance, so familiar in frogs, has given rise to the common story of women in cases of premature confinement or abortion, giving birth to 'Thavalai Pillai' (Tamil: Frog children). A popular belief in favour of wine in preference to water is expressed in the proverb 'water breeds frogs in the belly but wine kills worms'. It is said of the Roman Emperor Nero that he once vomited a frog covered with blood and he believed this to be his own progeny. He covered it up in a vault and that is why his palace was known as Lateran, derived from Lateo: hide and Rana: frog.

The appearance of frogs in such unbelievably vast numbers soon after the rains, has led to the belief that it rains frogs or toads. Some believe that the first large drops of rain which strike the dust of the earth are transformed into these beings. Huge confederations have been recorded. In 1932 in France near Toulon, thousands were killed under the wheels of carriages in one road, so great was the gathering of the frog clans described in the press as 'animal showers from the sky'. One such confederation was, perhaps, the plague of frogs in Egypt recorded in the Bible as an answer to the curse: 'I will smite all thy borders with frogs, the river shall bring forth frogs abundantly which shall go up and come into thine houses, into thy bed-chamber and upon thy bed, into the houses of

thy servants and upon thy people, into thy ovens and into thy kneading-troughs '.

The movements of the frog are so familiar, having been introduced in games, baths, etc. A common dance enjoyed by the forest tribes is the frog-dance. The dancer hops about with the knees bent and the body leaning forward ; the back is kept at an angle of forty-five degrees the buttocks well sticking out backwards. A popular game all over is the 'Pachai kuthirai '—green horse—the counterpart of the English 'Leap-Frog '. The frog-dive, the plunge head first which the frog indulges in when it jumps into the pond, is often imitated by swimmers. Frog-march is the method adopted to carry a drunken man or a refractory prisoner. Four men take charge of him with his face downwards and each holds one limb. The course of a *Sūtra* (rule) in *Nannul*, the Tamil grammar, is said to be ranatic, *i.e.*, like the jumping of a frog, when there is no continuity but an intermediate space is left between one subject and another. Man, in seeking to avoid boredom in all sorts of sports, has not eschewed the aid of frogs and enjoys the thrills afforded by frog-racing. The first frog-racing championship contest in the history of New York City took place on a terrace facing the Hudson. The terrace was divided into six lanes each fifty feet long, fenced with muslin and having tiny hurdles also made of muslin. Some twenty hefty frogs squatted ready in the 'paddock ' each with a 'jockey ', these owners being permitted to hold the frogs by one leg only. They were allowed to have bait such as worms, ants or flies at the end of the lanes. No 'doping ' such as the use of whisky was permitted and precautions were taken against anyone emulating Mark Twain and adopting his recipe of watering a frog or filling it with buckshot ! The event did not look like being a success at first. Immediately after the starting gun the frogs, all, took a short hop and then went to sleep against the muslin ! There was a suspension of rules and the jockeys seized twigs and stirred their 'mounts ' into activity.

The frog is very intimately associated with rain and the ryot. In folk-meteorology among the many signs of rains

listed one is 'frogs croaking loudly'. Frogs are believed to announce coming rains. A Telugu proverb says 'there will be rain in three hours if a frog croaks in an open place'. Two other Telugu proverbs mention frogs croaking 'in the well', or in dried up fields as an indication of rain. In Malabar if during the daytime a frog enters a house and croaks, it is supposed to announce the approach of rain. In Europe also a similar belief is current and in Turin where the Holy Week usually coincides with the rains, the commencement of the period is announced by the croaking of a wood instrument called *Canta Rana* (frog-sings).

The frog plays an important part all the world over in ceremonies connected with rain. No rain-compelling rite is complete if a frog is not there, to figure as the central hero or rather heroine! This is due in some countries to the belief that frogs are the custodians of rains, but in India the reason is they are the myrmidons of the Rain-god Indra, who is the god of heaven. The frog, as it is a water animal, is said to influence rain. The famous frog hymn in the *Ṛg Veda* is a magical method of rain-making though one can see a veiled satire on the croaking of Brahmans as they recite charms. In North India jugs of water with frogs are thrown into the courtyards of neighbours, a travesty of the appearance of frogs during rains or frogs are tortured to make the Rain-god feel pity for his favourite brute and relent by sending down copious rains. The most curious rite performed in this connection is the 'marriage of frogs' celebrated in Assam to avert drout. The Rain-god is said to be pleased with the performers of this rite because this marriage ensures the increase and multiplication of his favourites. Women perform this ceremony which is merely a mock-marriage of two frogs, one supposed to be male and the other female. The female frog is made to circumnambulate the male seven times while the women dance rhythmically, singing or crying U Lu Lu. In most places the ceremony consists of a party of females walking in the street singing the praises of the Rain-god Mehulo. One member of the party carries on her head a basket with a clay frog which

has three *nīm* twigs stuck in. At every house women pour a potful of water on the frog drenching the bearer as well and present doles of grain. Among the Newars of Nepal, to procure rain frogs are worshipped in a pool commonly frequented by them. On the seventh day of *Kārtik* (October-November) at a pool—it is not necessary for any frog to be seen in it—the priest after washing his face and hands, carries in his hands five brazen bowls of rice, flowers, milk, butter, vermilion and incense, and these are offered as the prayer goes up: 'Oh Lord of the soil Parameśvara Bhūminātha, I beseech thee to accept these offerings and to send us timely rain and bless our crops'. Korkus in the Central Provinces, during drout, catch a frog and sling it on a stick which boys and girls carry from house to house and the good woman of every house sprays water over it. In Muzeffarpur the frog is put in an earthen pot filled with water from five houses. The pot with the frog is placed in the wooden hollow of the rice-pounding apparatus, to be crushed to death by the fall of the pounder. During the crushing, the women assembled sing songs complaining about the lack of rain. In Kumaun when rain fails, a frog is hung with its mouth upwards from a bamboo or a tree for a day or two in the hope that the Rain-god will take pity on his animal and send rain. In South India ceremonial praying for rain is done in those districts usually dry, mostly the Ceded Districts. All castes associated with agriculture from the Kāppus down to the Malas perform this ceremony in times of need. The ceremony differs in slight details in different places. In Bellary, for instance, women tie a female frog alive to a bamboo winnowing fan. The frog is barely visible being almost overspread by *nīm* leaves. Women and children then carry this fan with the frog from door to door all round the village singing 'Kappa Thalli nirade, Cheruvellam nindi poyi, Moro, Vana Devada' (Telugu: Mother frog should have her bath. The tanks are all full—said ironically emphasising there is no water—Give water Oh Rain-god). Every woman in the houses visited comes out with a vessel containing water in which a little turmeric is mixed and pours the water on the

frog on which some vermilion dust is also sprinkled. In Vizagapatam the song is 'Lady Frog must have her bath. Oh! Rain-god, give a little water for her at least.' In Kurnool the live frog is tied to a *nīm* twig and then slung on a wooden pestle iron-shod at both ends. The pestle is borne on the shoulders of two boys from door to door. In Godavary the frog is tied to a mortar on the top of which is set up a mud effigy of Kunti Devi, the mother of the Pandavas. The usual procession takes place and the song is 'Mother Frog playing in water, pour rain by pots full'. An account of the ceremonies in the Mysore area is taken from a newspaper of September 1934 when the crops were withering for want of rain. "With a view to change the conditions obtaining at present and induce 'the gods to have mercy on the population quaint methods are being adopted by the people in the rural and even in the urban areas. In Bangalore City, special appeals are being made to the god of rain. A nude ten year-old boy carries through the streets on a tray on his head a rough clay image of Varuṇa, the god of rain. To the image a live frog is sometimes tied with a string. The boy is accompanied by a large crowd of people who chant a Canarese verse which roughly translated runs thus: 'Pour down, pour down, Oh! God of rain, have pity on us, your poor children, and water our fields of ragi, rice and cholam'. The procession stops at houses the inmates of which come out with a pot of water which is poured on the clay image. Offerings of cash, grain and cereals are made by the householders and the collection thus made are utilised, in a special worship offered to the Rain god."

The frog figures in a ceremony when a new canal is dug. Detailed instructions about the ceremony of the letting in of water are given in the *Atharva Veda* 111, 13 *Kaustika Sutra*, XI. 3–6. A gold plate is first deposited on the bed and on it a frog, with a blue and red thread round it, is made to sit and later covered with an aquatic plant 'Sevala' and then water is let in.

The disastrous nature of untimely floods is expressed in the English proverb: 'An April flood carries away the frog and her brood'.

The flesh of the frog forms an ingredient in a manure. The *Brihat Śarangadharam* which gives many recipes of manure says that seeds, if soaked in milk mixed with the flesh of frog, sprout wonderfully well when sown.

Frogs, particularly the kind known as the 'Midathavalai' (Tamil: Big throat frog) the Bull frog, are popularly believed to keep springs clean by purifying the water.

Frogs are also popularly associated with some diseases in man. In Malayalam the name 'Nathavala' is a human disease as also the name of a frog. The Chunam frog (Tamil: Therai) appears famine-stricken and lean and is capable of prodigious leaps. If it falls on a person, especially children, the victims become thin and angular. Such is the belief that most cases of wasting diseases are attributed to the falling of the 'Therai' which is also called 'Sorithavalai' because of its spangled colour markings. Another belief is that handling the spangled frog produces a kind of leprosy whereby the skin of the victim assumes a similar colour scheme. The remedy adopted in cases of 'children on whom Therai had fallen' is to bury a recently killed Chunam frog inside the house under a new water-pot and to remove the swollen dead body from the burial place three days later and to throw it out. The toad, known to science as *Bufo*, is chiefly among other characters, different from frogs in possessing a warty skin and an unfounded but common notion is that it communicates its warts by touch. The frog is invoked in the *Atharva Veda* to check the fire of fever. Frogs are supposed to be physicians—in one animal story the fox asks the frog who pretends to be a learned physician, how he dare prescribe to others when he cannot cure himself of his wrinkled skin and lame gait—and physicians among the frog-eating Panchamas relate how their ancestral Gurus were taught all about the herbs used in medicine and processes of massaging, etc., by a female frog. The flesh of frog, fried, is reckoned to be an infallible remedy for whooping cough. Since the time of Aristotle dried toad and ashes of toad were used in medicine and now the alkaloid poison Phrynin which exudes from the skin of the toad is used

for injections in cases of blood pressure or to effect contraction of the arteries or otherwise regulate the beat of the heart. The medicinal value of the toad was very early discovered in the Orient and the Chinese obtained their medicines from the toad by pressure on the large glands behind the eyes and by introducing garlic and pepper into the creature's mouth to irritate it and force it to cover its body with the much-prized secretions. For centuries the Chinese used 'Chausin' obtained from the toad for nose-bleeding and pains of various kinds. Adrenalin, the greatest heart remedy at our disposal today and Ergesterol the parent-substance of the rickets-preventing Vitamin B, are among the powerful remedies which the toad carries in its skin for reasons of self-protection.

Frogs figure in funeral ceremonies, *e.g.*, the Kamars catch and bring home any living thing they can find after the funeral, usually a frog and more rarely a fish or a prawn. The frog is invited in some chants to the cremation ground to cool the pyre. An animal story tells us that the fact why men die in all stages of their life is due to a decree of the frog. In the beginning when frogs and birds ruled the world, the king of the birds suggested that man may be allowed to live for ever but the frog king demurred on account of lack of space. Then the bird suggested the rejuvenation of old into young at a certain age but the frog in his wisdom decreed that some should die young, others in their prime and yet others in their mature old age.

Some diseases among cattle are attributed to frogs. A small green frog (Tamil: 'Pachathavalai') is supposed to occasion the death of cattle that swallow them. In Madura and other southern districts a curious remedy for cattle disease has for its ingredients human fæces and the fat of the frog. Among the stock in trade of itinerant quack medicine vendors is to be found a semi-solid stuff said to be 'Thavalai Koḷuppu' (Tamil: frog's fat). From the fat of the frog is derived a magical ointment believed to enable people to fly in the air.

The Chunam frog is said to be responsible for the rot in cocoanut palms. Its presence on the palm is said to be enough

to affect adversely its productive capacity. Frogs and toads, however, are really the ryots' friends helping him in his fight with insect pests. Large toads were imported into Porto Rico in 1934 and these reduced the May beetles to scarcity and freed the Porto Rican sugar crop from its worst enemy.

Frogs are very much associated with enchantment and witchcraft; they enter into the preparation of amulets, charms, love philtres, etc. The monstrous toad of Berkley Castle, about the mystical powers of which strange stories are current, is said to be really a seal! In Malabar one method of bringing about the death of an enemy is to bury underground a live frog in a cocoanut shell with nails stuck into its eyes and stomach and when the frog dies the enemy is sure to be dead! Dried Chunam frogs and dried toads are often used as amulets. The toad is believed to vomit fire from its cold body. In Kautilya's *Artha Śāstra* is given the recipes for various powders put to various uses. In the case of a powder which when smoked causes instantaneous death, one ingredient is the flesh of frog. In another endowed with similar powers the dung and urine of frog, form ingredients. Another powder, an ingredint of which is the flesh of frog when rubbed over the body of a man makes him fire-proof. Even if a man rubs himself with the serum from the flesh of frog it is enough to ensure him safety from hurts even though he may be set fire to. A powder, an ingredient of which is prepared from an ocean frog (*Samudra Manduki*—it may be a fish for the Pufferfishes are known in Telugu as 'Samudra kappa' and no frogs are known to be marine) if sprinkled on a man gives him immunity from fire. Human diseases may be induced by burning some powders the recipes of which are given in the *Artha Śāstra*. To cause cholera the powder is made among other things with the eyes of frog. To cause gonorrhœa the entrails of a frog of variegated colours are used in making the powder. Thus is seen that not only in Europe but elsewhere as well, were used 'the eye of newt and toe of frog . . . .for a charm of powerful trouble, like a hell broth boil and bubble'. The forest tribes on the West Coast, as a charm to aid unerring

aim, rub the juice of the tree frog 'Pacha thavalai' on their arrows. It is said that this juice induces green parrots to shed their natural feathers and regrow them in variegated colours.

Powdered frog skins are usually among the ingredients of love philtres here as elsewhere. In March 1932 a curious case came up for hearing in France when a fortune-teller was prosecuted for swindling, because the love philtre did not produce the desired effect. An analysis of the philtre revealed the presence of pieces of toad skin and so she was acquitted of the charge of falsely describing her merchandise. The skins of frogs yield a pliant leather with a delicate texture and an attractive grain, which could, as in Japan, be utilised for card cases and other small fancy articles. But so far, except in Coconada from where exhibits of well-cured frog skins were sent to some Madras exhibitions and in Vizagapatam where fishermen make little drums with the frog skins for use by children at the festivals of their several goddesses, no progress has been made in the matter of this promising article of commerce.

Eating frogs seems to be universal though frog-eating was once the proud privilege of the Frenchman, hence nicknamed the frog-eater, who had as his device three frogs or toads as Clovis did. All over the world aborigines or civilised classes consume frogs particularly the latter to such an extent that it is feared, in spite of froggeries, the supply will soon fall short of the demand. Frogs are killed in electrically-charged water and one American hotel alone is said to receive a consignment of 20,00,000 frog's legs in the year. In 1932 Florida saw the introduction of a new industry and at Wanchula catchers of frogs made from three to six dollars a night. Frogs are caught by lantern or flashlight. The hunters reflect the light into the eyes of the frog, dazzle it, then stick it with a sharp spear. It is the legs which are in demand by high class restaurants everywhere and there is a ready market for all that can be shipped. Mr. Skewes who at Carnkie owns the only frog 'farm' in West Britain has adopted for his own use the slogan

'Eat more Cornish frogs '. Mr. Green of Market Harborough Liecester aged ninety attributed his nonagenarian state to frogs. He says 'I swallow them alive and I know that while I continue to eat them I shall not have an ailment '. The Madras Fisheries Department runs a froggery in a swamp in Kurnool but the frogs are for feeding the Murrel in the fishfarm at Edrur.

In South India the frog-eating classes are looked at askance by others. Among the Parayas now known as Adi-Dravidas the frog-eating classes are known by special names: the Thavalaithinni (frog-eating) Parayas, Durchali Parayas and Manal kadai (Burrowing frog) thinni Parayas and are considered inferior to the other subdivisions. Members of the frog sept of Mādigas and Yanādis, unlike those of the frog *gōtra* of Janappas, have no compunction in killing or eating frogs. The Nayādis of the West Coast, the lowest caste extant, eat anything including frogs. Madura and Tinnevelly seem to be the headquarters of frog-eaters and here according to an old report 'Pariahs thrive on frogs '. As a result of an enquiry conducted in 1873 it was reported that fish-eaters in Tinnevelly and Madura finding the supply of fish insufficient supplemented it by indenting on frogs, four edible species of which are common in the Madras Presidency. Among the converts of Bishop Caldwell in Tinnevelly were many frog-eating castes and a curious story is told of a service conducted by the Bishop which was attended by many of the froge-aters. On the way to the church it rained and the people collected the esculent frogs in bundles which they kept by their side during the service. Unfortunately during the service rain came on and the living occupants of the many bundles sampled out their cacophany to the utter dismay of all the worshippers assembled and the possessors of these curious bundles were hurriedly bundled out of the church by the sexton. Tadpoles are also eaten but these are often fried with succulent vegetables. Frogs are cooked in the same way as fish but boys are often content with roasting a disembowelled frog in the fire for about five minutes. Boiled frogs are commonly exposed for sale in

Burmese Bazaar as a regular food commodity. Special preparations like 'Fricasse de Grenoiles' available in London West End Hotels and Hotels in America and Europe are very costly delicacies. 'Frog Legs Saute' is a special dish from Hawaii. The preparation called 'Toad in a Hole' has nothing to do with the Batrachian but is a piece of beef baked in batter.

If frogs appear in dreams it is usually supposed to indicate pain and suffering. In Europe, however, if a farmer dreams of frogs or toads it forecasts good crops. Those in love are sure to be faithful if they should dream of frogs and when toads appear to married couples it betokens many children.

When land is surveyed for house-building it is very auspicious for a frog to make its appearance then. The *Manaiadi Śāstra* also says it means buried treasure and that the owner will soon attain great honour and get untold riches.

In conservative homes in many parts of South India, even the rich people, particularly the womenfolk, will not use a cash chest or any other receptacle for their gold and jewels, but only pots arranged one over another. The pile of pots is usually relegated to a corner and as a guardian to protect the wealth a giant frog with a 'Namam' (the Vaiṣṇava mark) and turmeric dust are placed. This frog known as 'Adukkalaichelvi' *i.e.*, 'the lady who increases wealth, near the row of pots', makes herself comfortable in that dark corner sheltered from public gaze by the pile of pots.

Frogs are also associated with the gift of children and any one who kills these givers of fertility is always cursed. Frogs and their relations may be acclaimed as the experts in embracing, for during the sexual congress the male clings to the female in tight embrace for hours or days or even weeks. In Gujarat and round about a copper or silver coin laid between a male and female frog in embrace is supposed always to bring luck to its owner. In Simhachalam near Vizagapatam there is a famous temple where Simhadri Appanna, the Lion incarnation of Viṣṇu, is worshipped ; here is the 'Kappa Sthambam' which is embraced by barren women who visit the shrine and pour

gifts before the 'frog's pillar'. The word 'Kappa' also means to embrace and so the pillar may simply mean the embracing pillar but some authorities aver that the translation 'Frog's pillar' is correct being based on the fact that the pillar is hollow at one end which state is explained by tradition as due to the issuing out of a frog therefrom.

Among the monsoon musicians frogs occupy a very important position. An English proverb tells us 'Gossips and frogs drink and talk'. The Tamils dub garrulous people as 'Frogs of the rainy season'. These 'old croakers, Deacons of the mire, that led the deep Batrachian choir' are nicknamed 'Dutch nightingales or Fen nightingales'. Frogs naturally like swamps and the geography of Holland has associated the Dutchman with these animals. An Englishman writing about the Masulipatam fort says: 'the fort was originally built by the Dutch on a site (a patch of dry ground surrounded by a dismal swamp) which no living creature but a Dutchman, a frog or an alligator would ever have selected for his habitation'. The hullabaloo started by the frogs seems to those disturbed as nothing short of drunken chorus, a term which may not be agreed to by a Professor in a South Indian College who is said to have reduced the music of the batrachian band to writing. The bullfrog or 'Mida thavalai' the 'full-throated frog' is rightly called the 'Jug O Rum' and is the stentor among frogs. The Nilgiris tinkling frog the 'Pacha (green thavalai' has the reputation of being a ventriloquist. Ancient classics tell us that frogs fouled the water a gooddess wished to drink by disturbing the pond and so croaking was the punishment awarded. In the *Ṛg Veda* the frog music is compared to the exercise of a teacher and students, the leader issuing forth a solo while the others take up the refrain and sing it lustily for all their worth. The various squeaks made by the field frogs are syllabified in Tamil as follows: 'Vithedu, Mulaiedu, Kambedu, Thadiedu'. These are instructions to the ryot to 'take the seed, to take the plantlings and then the sticks'. In Malabar the frog croaks are syllabified as follows: the small ones squeak out 'Venilkalam thinna kadam veeti

tha, veeti tha' (What you borrowed and ate during the hotweather, repay, repay) and the older ones reply in loud stentorian tones 'Tharam makkale, tharam makkale' (we will pay, children, we will pay, children). At Calicut there lived a respected happy old couple, both prominent social workers, popular among all besides their own community of Christians. Even frogs were said to cry to them for help, the little ones squeaking away 'Cecily Akka, Cecily Akka (Sister Cecily)' and the bigger ones shouting themselves hoarse 'Abraham Muthappa, Abraham Muthappa (Old father Abraham)'.

Frogs usually escape detection by being protectively coloured. Aquatic frogs while floating or swimming in water cannot be noticed as such by their enemies whether from above like birds or from below like snakes or fish the colouration different both above and below harmonizing very nicely against the background whether of the water or the sky. Some land frogs protect themselves by burrowing in sand, etc. Their presence is usually revealed only by their voice. Moontural Ārayan in his Tamil poetic work *Pazamozhi* in warning people not to be proclaiming the faults of others by their own words refers to the frog which, though safely hidden buried in the sand is soon in great trouble because of its tongue! 'Nallai maṇalil muzhigi maraintirukum Nunalum than vāyal kedum'. As the English proverb says: 'The frog's own croak betrays him'.

Frogs are great disturbers of quiet and peace. St. Berno and St. Regulus were so much annoyed by the incessant interruptions to their preaching that they are said to have cursed them into silence. St. Berno, however, later commanded them to praise God in their accustomed fashions, fearful of their croaks. Being in obedience to the Biblical exhortation to all animals 'to bless the Lord' may be more agreeable than his prayers. St. Patrick cleared Ireland of toads by his maledictions. Agni, the God of Fire, once took refuge in water, to escape the gods but the frogs unable to bear the heat in the water caused by the proximity of Agni informed

the gods and the infuriated Agni is said to have cursed the frogs that their speech should henceforth be inarticulate. In Kerala the only temple where the frog is not seen and much less heard is that dedicated to Śri Baratha who being so intensely wrapt in *Samādhi* cannot afford to be disturbed. A curious case tried before a native court in Nigeria concerned fourteen frogs charge-sheeted for creating disturbances in Government barracks. The court messenger acted as the counsel for the accused frogs. The chief witness for the prosecution deposed that he had given them orders on several occasions to be silent but that they refused and were often indulging in noisy quarrels. The Law Journal which reported the case in 1929 says that the fourteen frogs which were unable to speak or croak for themselves were found not guilty and discharged. In Europe in the middle ages it was customary to engage special servants to stop the nuisance and they would as soon as the frogs attempt to be clamorous, throw stones, splash water or otherwise scare them into silence. A hotel in Pasadena, California, had no peace and the proprietor, to silence the frogs, introduced into the frog-ponds, Ducks. As these proved no less clamorous, quackless Muscovy ducks were requisitioned but these ate more plants and flowers than frogs. The ingenious proprietor tried the system of ample awards for frogs brought but those presented for rewards seemed to be more outsiders than those caught in the hotel grounds. A sharpshooter was then engaged but he made enough noise to awaken the seven sleepers. At last the problem was solved by the hanging of electric lights over all ponds and the diddled brutes since silently wait all through the night for the darkness that never comes.

The poem does not tell us what sort of music 'the frog who would a wooing go' serenaded his fair lady. The males are usually the musicians and their calls do exert a great attraction on the part of the female. Frogs and toads have external ears and if, when all is quiet, some sound is made, they put up their heads on one side and listen. In Nebraska toads were allured into a potato ranch where they were needed to exterminate the bugs, by the music of the town band.

The poet speaks of the 'jewelled toad' and the popular belief is that the pearl or the gem in the head is due to swallowed dew drops: the gem could be vomited out as in the case of the snake. Shakespeare refers to this idea when he makes the Duke say in the Forest of Arden in 'As you like it' "the toad ugly and venomous wears yet a precious jewel within its head". According to Sanskrit works two kinds of frogs are recognised, one Sivigam and the other Nivigam, *i.e.*, one carrying a valuable gem in the head. This stone is said to occur in the heads of old and great toads. The stone called variously as Toadstone, Bufonite, Batrachyle, Batrachos, Crepandria, Crepandina, etc., is said to be an antidote to poison. The gem sweats and changes colour if poison is placed near it. Persons bitten by poisonous vermin like rat, wasp, spider, etc., can ease their pain by touching the stone. Rings made of this gem were common in mediæval Europe and were known as warning rings. One such stone has been identified to be the fossil palated tooth of a species of skate fish though the legendary origin from the head of the toad is persistently believed in. Toads unlike frogs carry no teeth, but popularly even frogs are said to be adentulous. An Italian proverb says: 'even a frog would bite if it had teeth'.

The passage from Shakespeare also refers to the belief that the toad is poisonous. The popular belief is that, while being poisonous right through life, it, after fifty years of its existence, develops fangs like those of the snake. The poison is believed to be so virulent and powerful as to affect men and plants over which the toad passes. Pliny recommends as an antidote to toad poison, a drink in which chopped meat of the water crab is left. The truth, however, about the poison is that from the skin of a toad exude fluids which actively irritate the tongue of enemies like cats or dogs which attempt to worry them. The medicinal uses which man puts these secretions to have already been referred to.

Another belief about the toad is that there is death in the mere glance from its beautiful eyes. The eyes are so

markedly attractive that some annotators of Shakespeare think that the jewel of the toad referred to are its eyes.

Like other hibernating and æstivating animals, frogs and toads also periodically enter into a lethargic state comparable to the *Samādhi* of ascetics. Very curious instances of live toads occurring in stone, chalk, coal, etc., dislodged by the chance hit of a pick-axe have been recorded but they make great demands on our credulity because they assume the capacity of toads to live for periods extending even to geological ages without air, food or water. Actual experiments have shown that they have lived once for fifteen months and in another instance—Mr. Jesse's experiment—for twenty years without direct or indirect access to the outside world. In 1928 an interesting case occurred in Eastland, a town in Texas. When an old courthouse was demolished a live toad was taken out from beneath a corner-stone. The news spread like wild fire that this Batrachian must have lived without air or food or water for thirty-one years, *i.e.*, ever since the building was erected. Many did not believe this story and so the controversy was decided to be settled by burying a toad under the corner-stone of the new court and leaving the next generation to complete the investigation. No sooner was the toad buried a cry of cruelty went up from one section of the people who invoked the law on behalf of the poor brute and the Commissioner's Court 'out of respect for Christianity and humane citizenship of Texas' ordered the stone to be unsealed; the toad was thus set free after forty-eight hours of incarceration. Sometime previous to the Eastland incident eight of these creatures were discovered in the grit stone of Werneth Low. They apparently simply crept in through a tiny crevice when very small, lived on insects afflicted with similar unwise exploratory tastes and grew too fat to get out. If they get really sealed in, as a specimen in a hollow flint with the aperture closed by chalk debris, now in the Brighton Museum shows, of course they die. In 1936 when a wall built thirty years ago was pulled down at Keighley in Yorkshire a toad is said to have jumped out from between two bricks. It had apparently been

asleep in the hole ever since the wall was built. When released it hopped away to explore the wonders of the new world ! In 1935 an earthenware pot was discovered at a depth of twenty-one feet under the surface of the ground during the digging of a well in Baramula, Kashmir. The pot was half full of water and in the water were three fair-sized live frogs. An underground stream of water was encountered during the excavation at approximately the same depth as the site of the pot. The mysterious presence of the frogs is explained by assuming that they in an immature state were carried at some time by the stream from its source into the pot. The frogs had apparently subsisted on matter carried to them by the stream. But how long they would have existed in their dark and stuffy underground quarters is a problem that will ever remain unanswered !

Frogs, etc., form the natural prey of snakes though the Bull frog does not seem to be a victim of ophiophobia the fear of snakes so deeply engrained in all the other kinds. A Canarese proverb says : ‘ the fly is eaten by the frog and both are eaten by the serpent ’. While snakes usually eat frogs there are cases on record as also photographs of frogs eating snakes. The American Indians say a frog saves himself from his enemy the snake by the clever trick of taking a stick in his mouth and facing his pursuer ! The Tamil poet Athiveeraramapandian says in his *Vettiverkai* that the frog even though it lives in a pond full of plants is very much afraid of snakes—‘ Araiampallathode-vazhinum therai pāmbirku migavanjumme ’. In the *Pancha-tantra* which is full of animal stories there are two in which frogs and snakes appear. A snake pretends to have been cursed by a Brahman for biting his child to be a carrier of frogs and gives joyrides to all the frogs including their king. Later he goes slow and explains it as due to hunger to appease which the king permits the use of one or two of his subjects at a time. Finally all these credulous frogs, king and all, are swallowed by the wily serpent. In the other story, the king of frogs, to wreak his vengeance on his enemy frogs, invites a snake which after making short work of the enemies asks for more food.

At last the son and heir of the frog king is also eaten and so Mr. and Mrs. Frog run away from their place on the plea of persuading other friends to accompany them.

According to Jewish tradition the toad is also diabolical enough to preach in the ear of Eve. After Satan entered Paradise, the Angel Ithuriel was sent to find him out. He carried a spear which could by a slight touch expose deceipt. The snake after tempting Eve to eat the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden transformed itself into a toad and squatted close to her ear but the touch of Ithuriel's spear lengthened it into its usual snakelike form!

The English proverb 'What is a pound of butter among a kennel of hounds' has its replica in Tamil which reads 'like one toad among 1,000 snakes'. In Albania if any one sees a snake swallow a frog he throws a black kerchief on the two brutes and frightens the snake to disgorge the other and such a kerchief is said to be useful in cases of fits.

Many human characteristics are personified by the frogs and toads. The credulity of the frog was exemplified in a *Panchatantra* story given *supra.* Its inquisitiveness is referred to in a Tamil proverb 'why should the frog in a well worry about countryside news'. The 'frog in the well' figures in two Bengali proverbs. One asks whether it 'sees heaven' and the other says it got drowned on coming out of the well, swimming in deeper water. The frog is said to be a fool not knowing the value of good things and a Tamil poet compares a fool to the frog which though living near the lotus knows not the taste of the honey in it. A frog personifies indecision, *e.g.*, in the puzzle propounded by a lawyer 'if three frogs are seated on a log and one decides to jump off, how many will be left? The solution is three as the riddle says 'decided' and not jumped off! Frogs are said to typify inspiration. The tadpole, as its Tamil name 'swell head' (Thalaipirattai) implies, personifies conceit. In the story of two frogs which fell into a cream bowl 'Pessimism' drowned itself at once but 'Optimism' started swimming round with the result that butter was formed as the result of churning and the frog

was able to hop off gaily! In an animal story where rabbits decided to drown themselves as they had to live in constant fear of their enemies, they changed their mind seeing that there were more timid creatures in the world in the form of frogs. Another story shows that frogs never let well alone when they exchanged the log king for worse. Another Æsop's fable shows what an inordinate value of its capability it has, when the mother frog bloated itself up till bursting point in attempting to reach the size of the ox which had trampled upon one of its young. A folkstory related to the writer by a South African Telugu repatriate at Pentakota refers to its ubiquity. In a race with two frogs, the wild hog ran and ran till it died of exhaustion; every time it stopped it saw two frogs which it naturally thought had just hopped in advance. That little things have great consequences is illustrated by the Tamil Poet Kumarakuruparaswamigal saying in his *Neethineri viḷakkam* that if a frog jumps into a pool full of water the shadow of even such a big animal as the elephant cannot be seen. An animal story with a moral against cruelty is that of the boys who played ducks and drakes and frogs which said 'what is play to you is death to us'. The Gujarathi proverb couples crows with frogs and says: 'Hadiyana manman hasvanne ne dedkans pran jay'. An English proverb, to express disappointment on failure in spite of good work, says 'you fish fair and catch a frog'.

The toad implies fawning and so the term toady indicates a hanger-on. The term toad-eater means a fawning sycophant, the assistant of a mountebank who pretends to swallow anything. 'Sarvabakshans' there are who, by practising yogic and other exercises, are able to swallow all sorts of things including toads or even poison. Gilbert White in his *Natural History of Selborne* tells of a quack who ate toads to make all country people stare and then drank oil.

A curious use of the frog among other things as code-words, ingenious but appropriate, is in the Scythian message to Darius when he invaded Scythia. The ambassador came into the tent of Darius with a bird, a frog, a mouse and five

arrows. The message warned Darius that if he did not fly away (bird) or swim across the river out of Scythia (frog) or hide himself (like mouse in a hole) in five days, he will be laid prostrate by Scythian arrows.

Among the Hill tribes who believe that a giant frog supports the world, earthquakes are supposed to be due to the slight movements of the limbs or head of the animal Atlas. Malformations of rocks suggesting the appearance of various animals have a legendary origin of the particular animal having been petrified by a curse. No such tradition was traceable in the case of two giant frog-rocks near Elavanasur in South Arcot. The frogs appear to be engaged in some confidential conversation. In Atlanta near Lithuania Springs is a single frog-rock. The mineral stone called laterite is named in Tamil 'frog-stone' because of its rough surface.

INDIA AND OLD CEYLON

By V. Srinivasan, M.A., A.I.I.B.

(*Continued from Vol. XXIX, No. 4, page 444*)

Part II

Āryan and Dravida in Ceylon

Our relations with Ceylon reviewed in the preceding pages compel certain reflections which may be set down here. It is from the old stock of colonists that the bulk of the people in the island are derived. The civilisation introduced by the Āryans changed colour with the advent of Buddhism in the third century B.C. The aggressive warriors of the peninsula who included the island within the ambit of their operations supplanted the indigenous systems wherever they settled and from time to time the Sinhalese had to side with one or the other of the contending families in the mainland. It could safely be asserted that constant pokings on their part in the affairs of the mainland did not do the Sinhalese any good; particularly when they sided with the weaker of the claimants reprisals were inevitable and the successful claimant not content with scoring a victory over his rival endeavoured to chastise his ally from across the sea. This resulted in the establishment of a Tamil state in the island which not all the force of national sentiment of the people could effectively disrupt. It thus came about that the Tamils played a pre-eminent part in Sinhalese history. Some of them held keyposts under the native sovereigns and decided the fate of successive dynasties.

But comparing them with the Āryans we feel that the Dravidian occupation did not result in much good to the country. The Āryans who had preceded them in the rôle of invaders were permanent emigrants into the island in quest of a home and they projected schemes for enriching and adorning the land of their adoption. The Dravidians however never identified themselves with any well-conceived plan for

ensuring the prosperity of the regions they came to occupy. The natives were forced to recede farther and farther into the interior and their capital was shifted frequently from time to time till at last it was established at Pollannaruwa where they sank tanks, erected palaces and pews and hewed temples out of living rock which have excited the admiration of the world. The Dravidian advent was in the nature of foraging hordes and generally impoverished the country.

It is to be remembered also that the Sinhalese became Buddhists at an early date while the Dravidians they encountered were all Hindus of the Śaivite persuasion. Unlike Wijaya and his descendants the Dravidians were under no urge of colonisation and what brought them from time to time into the island was not the lust for dominion but only the need for assistance against their rivals in the race for power on their own soil and they were in turn utilised by the Sinhalese themselves. Most of them included among their objectives a share in Ceyon's far-famed wealth which would furnish them with the sinews of internecine warfare. It is thus easy to under stand why while everything tending to exalt and to civilise was introduced by the northern conquerors all that contributed to the debasement of national life in Ceylon's tangled tale is traceable to the presence of the Tamils.

Buddhism in the Island

Despite these distracting forces Ceylon took very kindly to the religion of Gautama. There were some impious schisms in the third and fourth centuries when the stringent rulers of the time branded apostates and sent them into an ignominious exile. These stern measures had the effect of putting an end to the heresies and it was not long before the unity of the faith was assured. Mahāsen, the last great name in the history of the Great Dynasty, is the king prominently associated with the salutary reformations in the faith.

With the advent of Islam, Buddhism disppeared from the land of its birth and the adherents of the faith fell a victim to the successful missions of Śankara and the other Ācāryas.

We have it on record that the Buddhists whom sage Manikkavasagar defeated at a contest at Cidambaram had to leave the country.[111] Moreover a Jain priest from Sravaṇa Belagoḷa named Akalanka Bhatta was summoned in 788 to Hema Sitala's court at Kañci where having confuted the Buddhists in public he secured their expulsion to Ceylon.[112] But it was different in the island where the faith has ever maintained itself in its pristine purity and its spiritual heritage has influenced distant Burma and Siam which drew their spiritual sustenance from Ceylon.

Details may now be given of the Buddhist stream of influence on Burma. The rulers of both the countries were on terms of great intimacy which became marked from the eleventh century onwards when after 200 years of intolerable Chinese rule the Burmans looked to Ceylon for their cultural nourishment.[113]

Ceylon and Burma

Vijaya Bāhu I received presents including a white elephant from Anawrahta, the ruler of Pegu. The latter tried to secure from his Ceylonese contemporary the tooth-relic but obtained only a duplicate.[114] King Narapati Sittu (1167–1204) availed himself of the services of Ceylonese monks in establishing Buddhism in his State.[115] Pilgrimage to Ceylon was a fashion with the Burmese and in the Talaing monk Uttarajīva Mahāthera has been preserved the name of the first pilgrim (1180).[116] In 1456 Narapati the ruler of Ava, sent offerings to the Temple of the Tooth at Kandy where he bought land for the support of pilgrims sojourning thither.[117] His son Thihatura (1469–81) and his wife, both staunch devotees of the faith, made their hair into a groom, studded the handle

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111 *Op. cit.*, Nelson, *Madura Country*, p. 53.

112 L. Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. II, p. 366. Also Vol. I, p. 465.

113 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 539.

114 G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, p. 32.

115 R. C. Temple in *I.A.*, Vol. XLV, 1916, pp. 41–42.

116 G. E. Harvey, *Ibid.*, p. 55.

117 G. E. Harvey, *Ibid.*, p. 100.

with gems and sent it on to sweep the floor of the same temple.[118] Bayinnaung (1551–81) of the Toungoo Dynasty sent priests and presents and bought land to keep light constantly burning at the shrine.[119] And Sandathudamna (1652–84), one of the noblest of Ava's kings, was yet another great personage who sent a mission to far off Ceylon.

The Kalyaṇi Ordination

But by far the most important of the missions requiring mention is the mission of Dammazedi (–chitty) (1472–92) ruler of Pegu. The Kalyaṇi inscriptions (1476), described by Mr. Taw Sein Co,[120] tell us how they presented (i) to the Tooth and the Holy Tree, a stone alms bowl studded with sapphires and reliquaries of gold and crystal, (ii) to the monks of the shrine clothes and Chiengmai lacquer boxes and (iii) to the King of Ceylon rubies, fine mats and a letter on gold leaf. Their object was to secure valid ordination from the clergy of Mahāvihāra the great monastery which was founded in 251 B.C. and exists even today. On their return to Lower Burma they transmitted their ordination to the clergy. It was so generally accepted as valid that monks from all parts of Burma and Siam flocked to receive it. 'Thus religion in Burma which for three centuries had been split into sects, each with its own ordination, received a measure of unity from the standard Kalyaṇi ordination which was and is granted at the *Kalyaṇ Ther* (ordination hall) near Pegu called so because the original monks were ordained on the banks of the Kalyaṇi stream in Ceylon.[121]

Enough has been said to show how complete was the supremacy of Ceylonese Buddhism in distant Burma.

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[118] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 547–48.

[119] G. E. Harvey, *Ibid.*, p. 172.

[120] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, February 1893.

[121] Probably this is the river mentioned in the *Mahāwamśa* (Chap. I, verse 63). See p. 7 in Geiger's edition; also n. 4 : Kælani, name of a river which falls into the sea near Colombo.

Influence of the Aśokan Code

The Ceylonese kings themselves fell under the magic spell of the Aśokan code of administration. The Girnar Edict of that great emperor[122] spoke of the universal establishment of a system of medical administration : 'Everywhere within the conquered provinces of Rāja Piyadasi beloved of the gods as well as in the parts occupied by the Faithful such as Cōḷa, Pāndya, Satyaputra, Keraḷaputra and even as far as Tambapanni (Ceylon) and moreover within the dominions of Antiochus the Greek and of which Antiochus's generals are rulers—everywhere the heaven beloved Rāja Piyadasi's double system of medical aid is established ; both medical aid for man and medical aid for animals. ' It is remarkable that the implication of the injunctions and exhortations contained in the *Śāsanas* were not lost upon the Buddhist kings of Ceylon, and the chronicles frequently advert to the acts of pious virtue on the part of the sovereigns particularly in the sphere of founding beneficent institutions like hospitals for man and beast alike. Parti cularly did they take to heart the Aśokan prohibition of taking life and the injunction that 'everywhere wholesome vegetable roots and fruits shall be cultivated and that on the public highways wells are to be dug and trees to be planted for the accommodation of men and animals.'[123]

Dutthagamini's register of deeds of piety[124] refers to the erection, in no less than eighteen places, of hospitals provided with suitable diet and medicines prepared by medical practi tioners for the infirm. Addagamunu in the opening century of the Christian era 'caused to be planted throughout the island every description of fruit-bearing creepers and inter dicted the destruction of animal life '. It is recorded of Upa Tissa (368 A.D.) that in the midst of a solemn ceremonial 'observing ants and other insects drowning in an inundation

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[122] In Gujarat. Deciphered by Prinsep, *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VII, Part 2, p. 159.

[123] *Ibid.*, *J.A.S.B.*

[124] *Mahāwamśa*, Chap. XXXIII.

he halted and having swept them towards the bank with the feathers of a peacock tail enabled them to save themselves and then continued his procession. The great Parākrama Bāhu in the twelfth century, mindful of Aśokavardhana's instructions, 'forbade the animals in the whole of Laṅka both of the earth and the water to be killed'.

The Artistic Impulse of the Buddhist Creed

Great as was the influence in the Ceylonese annals of the Aśokan code of ethics scarcely less remarkable has been the artistic impulse of the Buddhist creed. From the days of Tissa no efforts were spared in the erection of dagobas and shrines many of which were, as we have seen, endowed by Burmans. Indeed the magnificent remains at Pollonnaruwa and the Sigiriya frescoes besides the ruins of Anurādhapura, the Buddhist Rome, have survived to serve as the measure and symbol of the excellence which would have been attained only in a nation which was the entrepot of civilisation.

Caste and Ceylonese Buddhism

We may refer in passing to a peculiarity of Ceylonese Buddhism. It retained the caste system which Wijaya and the early settlers brought from their Gangetic home. It had continued as a social institution right through her history and was eventually absorbed in the religious character, those embracing the ascetic life being simultaneously absolved of social disabilities. It is indeed curious that Buddhist priests whose life was a protest against caste re-erected a system in Ceylon where the radis or radias were reduced to much the same status as the pariahs of the mainland.[125]

There have been some other spheres in which Ceylonese civilisation has borne the impress of the Indian impact.

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[125] Irving, *Theory and Practice of Caste*, London, 1859; *r. i. Enc. Britt.*, Vol. V, p. 468.

The Hon. Sir D. B. Jayatilaka has informed me in this connection that caste in Buddhist Ceylon exists in a much milder form than in India. "In fact, it is now more or less limited to marriage."

Ceylonese Indebtedness to Indian Engineering

(i) *Engineering.*—Up to the time of Parākrama Bāhu mighty engineering works were executed in Ceylon. It was a Brahmin engineer who taught canal-making to the Sinhalese in the fourth century B.C. and King Pāndukabhaya is said to have built a residence for the Brahman Jotyo, the Chief Engineer at the Court.[126] The Tamils introduced the system of managing the water for rice lands[127] and the tank system prevalent in Ceylon even in our day was thus Tamilian in origin. A tradition is that the use and cultivation of cocoanut was also introduced by an Indian prince—Kusti Rāja—into the island whence it probably passed to Malabar.[128]

Men from the mainland taught also military engineering. The first recorded effort in the erection of fortifications goes to the second century B.C. in connection with strengthening of the defence of Wijittipura. A chain of forts was then formed in the southern part of the island; the most striking example of fortifications is said to be the one still surviving in the imperishable Sigiriya, north of Dambulla to which the infamous parricide Kaśyapa repaired to escape the wrath of the people.

(ii) *Metallurgy.*—From an early date Indians knew how to work in metals and bright iron calamus and cassia were amongst the imports at Tyre enumerated by Ezekiel.[129] The knowledge of the ancient Hindus in the art of tempering steel furnished the iron gate fastened to the enclosed city of Wijittipura.[130]

Copper too was imported into Ceylon from India. The renowned Brazen Palace (Mahā Lowa Paya) at Anurādhapura was named from the quantity of copper used. Buja Rāya

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[126] *Mahāwamśa*, Chap. X.

[127] Mihintala inscription, Sir J. Tennant, *Ceylon*, p. 362.

[128] Tennant, *Ibid.*, p. 436.

[129] Ezekiel, Chap. 27, v. 19; Cp. V, 12: "Tarshish was the merchant by reason of the multitude of all kind of riches; with silver, iron, tin and lead, they traded in their fairs."

[130] *Mahāwamśa*, Chap. XXV.

covered a building at Attanagalla with tiles made of copper and gilt with gold.[131] Two boats built of brass were placed near the Bo-Tree at the capital to hold food for the priests.[132]

Glass

Glass too came from India where, according to Pliny, it was made. According to the *Dīpawamśa*, Saddha Tissa, Dhutta-gamini's brother, surmounted the famous Ruanwalle dagoba erected by him at Anurādhapura with a glass pinnacle.

Music

The Sinhalese derived from the mainland their knowledge of music also which was among the eighteen arts taught to the princes of Hindusthan.

The Crafts

The Indians' knowledge and practice of the handicrafts was made available to the Ceylonse even as early as the days of Wijaya when artificers from Madura, who formed the suit of his Pāndyan bride, included goldsmiths, blacksmiths, brassfinders and carpenters.[133] There could thus be no doubt that from that date skilled artificers were brought from the mainland to adorn the cities and palaces of the country.

Indo-Ceylonese Trade

For a proper appreciation of the extent of their relations with and indebtedness to the mainland it is necessary for us to dwell in the conditions of our trade with the Ceylonese.[134] The

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[131] *Rājaratnāçari*, 73.

[132] *Ibid.*, 60.

[133] Valentyn, *Oud on Niew Oost Indien*, Chap. IV, p. 267 ; quoted in Tennant, *Ceylon*, p. 453.

[134] Ceylon was one of the countries in which Marco Polo observed the Muhammadans wielding influence (1293). It has been recorded that there were eight Muhammadan settlements along the north east, north and western coasts of the island among them being Trincomalee, Jaffna and Mannar. From their situations Mantotte and Mannar on the north-west coast became the great emporium of the trade carried on with Egypt, Arabia, Persia, Coromandel and the countries of the east including Java, Sumatra and China. Moors,

commercial products of the island were the chief attraction of all outsiders and from the days of Karikāla a busy trade appears to have been plying between the peninsula and the island. Great facilities were afforded for free communication between India and Ceylon.[135] Poets have sung of the great quantities and articles of food from Elam found at the emporium of Kāveripāk or Puhar. The Indian navy naturally played a considerable part. The legend of Rāvaṇa's magic car on which Sīta was transported is in the opinion of a well-known writer[136] the poetical version of some piratical raid up the Godavari in which the fair Āryan princess was seized as a rich prize and carried off to Laṅka as the pirate king's stronghold. The jewels and spices of the island are to be reckoned among the other attractions which invited invasions. Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*[137] makes mention of a variety of *ratna* called Tamma panimba produced in the Tambapanni region. Reference has also been made in the work to the *Aśokagranika* then available in the Sinhalese country. Devanampiyya Tissa sent by his ambassadors to Aśoka, eight varieties of pearls and elephants, and the great Mauryan Emperor sent him in turn, 'chowris, diadems parasols, slippers, asbestos towels, costly howdahs and other things, birds, medicinal drugs and water from the Ganges, sandalwood and among other things, a virgin of royal birth and of great personal beauty'.

Fa-Hien who spent two years in Ceylon, speaks of the large vessels[138] in which trade was carried on between Tamluk on the Hooghly and Ceylon—which go back to a period before

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Moplahs and Lebbais were amongst them (Johnstone, " A Letter," *J.R.A.S.*, I, p. 538 ; Vasco da Gama, *Three Voyages*, p. 154 ; Yule, *Cathay*, IV, p. 29). The migration of a body of weavers from South India to Ceylon about 700 years ago is said to have been at the instance of a great Muhammadan merchant (Johnstone, " A Letter," *Transactions of the R.A.S.*, Vol. I, p. 540).

[135] *A.R.E.*, 1910, Part I, para 8.

[136] E. B. Havell, *Āryan Rule in India*, p. 236.

[137] Bk. II, Chap. 3.

[138] Chap. XXXVI.

the advent of Buddhism into the island. Mantotta was the entrepot of all commerce between Persia and China and the Chinese piligrim describes how merchants used to exchange their commodities for gems which the demons and *nāgas* (serpents) who never appeared in person deposited on the shores of streams. He also tells us how the statues of Anurādhapura were all adorned with gems and gold. Indeed Odyssean legends have grown about Ceylon's gems and pearls and ivory.[139] According to an interesting Mysore record from Baligami to which Dr. R. Mookherji invites attention a mercantile community of the *nanadesi* included among their exploits the penetration of the region of six countries by land and water routes for dealing in various articles such as horses, elephants, precious stones, etc. The boast is said to be justified by the existence of stone records in Ceylon as well as in Burma which refer to their communal gifts in these countries.[140] The merchants dealt among other things in horses which were not natives of the island and hence had to be imported from the mainland, those of the Sindhava breed being priced much. As for elephants we hear of one Avaci Tippaiyya Setti of Nellore (Vikramasimhapura) obtaining for Vijianagara a supply of elephants.[141] That was very late in the latter's history.[142]

Ceylon and the Outside World

Ceylon's relations in early times were not confined to the peninsula. Interesting details are available of her dealings with far off states.

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139 Though rich in precious diamonds Ceylon got her *lapis lazuli* from India. See Tennant, *Ceylon*, Vol. I, Chap. XXX, p. 459.

140 R. Mookherji, *Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 261.

141 S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar, *Sources of Vijianagar History*, p. 4.

142 The fame of Ceylon for elephants is of ancient date (6th century). We are told that the king had a monopoly of the trade; he sold them to the merchants of Coromandel, Malabar, Dekhan, Vijianagar and Cambay, who came hither to seek them. They were ten and eleven cubits high and were greatly esteemed by the kings of India Cosmos Yule, *Cathay*, 1, p. 230, *Ibid.*, Khurdabha; Elliott, *History*, I, p. 13. Barbosa, *An Account*, II, p. 113).

Kashmir.—According to the *Rājatarangiṇi*[143] Mēgha varṇa (in 24 A.D. according to Troyer) made an expedition to Ceylon for the purpose of extending Buddhism and visited Adam's Peak where he had an interview with the native sovereigns. In the eighth century A.D. another Kashmir ruler Djayapida sent messengers to Ceylon to bring some engineering workmen whom he employed in constructing an artificial lake.[144] Shawls which were the woollen cloths for dressing horses had to be got from the Kashmir country[145] and Kalhana's chronicle records that owing to the possession of a common religion an intercourse which originated in sympathy with Buddhism was perpetuated by the Kashmiris for purposes of commerce.

Kaḷinga.—Bournouf maintained that Wijaya was connected by maternal descent with the King of Kaḷinga. Prince Magha who overran Ceylon with Keraḷa help and destroyed all that lay on his way was a Kaḷinga and the person who took Parākrama Pāndya captive had also Kaḷinga blood in him : Vijayabāhu who ruled in Ceylon for twenty-one years. We find a Kaḷinga Cōḷa Ganga ruling in the island in 1196.[146]

Fa-Hien refers to a Kaḷinga princess at the time of his visit who had possession of the Sacred Tooth which was concealed in the folds of her hair. Kaḷinga monks had come to Ceylon during Bhuvaneka Bāhu's reign when the Tamils and with them their Śaivism were driven out. But in the confusion that set in the seventh century there were emigra tions to Bihar and Orissa and Hiouen Tsang wrote that he met several exiles who said they had to flee from their island home. Mahinda III (997) married a Kaḷinga princess and another Virasala Megha at the Ceylonese court was the decapi tated ruler referred to in a Cōḷa inscription. In the domain of letters, Oldenberg held that the Buddhist scriptures introduced

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143 Kalhaṇa, *Rājatarangiṇi*, Bk. III, ślokas 71–79.

144 Kalhaṇa, *ibid.*, IV, sl. 502–5.

145 *Ibid.*, sl. 502.

146 T. W. Rhys Davids, *Numismata Orientalia*, r.i. L. Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 318. Also *Mahāwamśa*, Chap. CX.

into Ceylon were not in Māgadhi but in a language that resembled the Khāravela inscriptions. Parākrama Bāhu the Great was of Kaḷinga extraction.

The people of Kaḷinga are described by Ceylon's chronicle as bad people who outraged caste and the island resembled 'a dwelling in flames or a house darkened by funeral rites'.

Sind.—'The immediate cause of the Arab conquests in Sind was the exaction of vengeance for the plunder, by the Meds and other pirates of Debol and the Indus region of light vessels, which the ruler of Ceylon had dispatched fitted with presents, pilgrims, Muhammadan orphans and Abyssinian slaves to secure the goodwill of Hajjaj and the Khalif.'[147]

It was to Ceylon that the terrified worshippers of Śiva betook themselves in their flight from Mahmūd of Ghazni when he seized the idol and overthrew the temple at Somanath (1025). Earlier when the same invader routed the schismatic Carmathians of Multan the fugitives found an asylum in distant Ceylon.[148]

The Holy Land and the West.—Ceylon has been referred to in the Old Testament as Ophir and Tarshish and from that source came the wealth that contributed to the splendour of Solomon's reign :

> 'And the navy also of Hiram, that brought gold from Ophir brought it from Ophir great plenty of almug trees and precious stones.'[149]

Also ;

> 'The King's ships went to Tarshish with the servants of Hiram. Every three years once came the ships of Tarshish bringing gold, and silver and ivory (elephant's teeth) and apes and peacocks.
>
> And King Solomon passed all the kings of the earth in riches and wisdom.'[150]

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147 R. Mookherji, *Indian Shipping*, p. 185.

148 Biggs, *Ferishta*, I, p. 71.

149 I Kings, x, 11.

150 II Chronicles, ix, pp. 21–22.

Merchants from the west used to go to Africa for gold and come to Ceylon and Malaya for pepper and cinnamon and precious stones. That was even at the time of the Periplus. Ceylon was discovered by the Roman navigators during the reign of the Emperor Claudius (41–54) who is said to have received ambassadors from the island.[151] We have too a well-known story mentioned by Mr. Rawlinson[152] of a Roman collector shipwrecked off the Ceylonese coast who convinced the Sinhalese monarch of the superiority of his country's coin to the Persian drachma by pointing to the purity, regularity and fine workmanship of the aurei. Phœnicians also had come to Ceylon where as the writer in the *Historians History of the World*,[153] observes, the Tyrean penant waved at the time it did on the coasts of Britain.

Numismatic Interest of Indo-Ceylonese Transactions

Numismatic interest of this survey centres round the influence of South India on the coinage of Old Ceylon. According to Mr. V. Nagam Aiyah[154] a South Travancore inscription of 98 M.E. (922 A.D.), testifies to the fact that Ceylonese gold coins were once current in that part of the country. Much of the island's coinage related to the mainland are of the eleventh and twelfth centuries small numbers of which were dug up in the island in the last century thanks to the efforts of Lt. Evatt who brought to light in 1848 several copper coins belonging to the reigns of Vijayabāhu I (1071), Parākrama Bāhu (1153), Queen Līlavati (1197), King Sāhasa malla (1200) and Bhuvaneka Bāhu (1303).[155] But by far the most valuable group of coins which have interest for this study

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[151] H. G. Rawlinson, *India and the Western World*, pp. 103–4.

[152] *Ibid.*

[153] Vol. II, p. 374, *cf.*, Ezekiel's description of Tyre in Chap. 27, v. 25 : " The ships of Tarshish did sing of thee in thy market : and thou wast replenished, and made very glorious in the midst of the seas ".

[154] *State Manual of Travancore*, Vol. I, p. 175.

[155] Tennant, *Ceylon*, Vol. I, p. 461.

relate to the period 1153–1296[156] when the sovereigns of Ceylon issued coins based on the later Cōḷa models which exhibit on the obverse an 'exceedingly crude' standing figure borrowed from the Pāndyas who in turn had taken the standing king idea from the Guptas.[157] Rāja Rāja the Great was the first prominent king to adopt the device which was again imitated in the abundant coinage of Parākrama Bāhu. The fact that some of these were found at Amarāvati on the Kistna lent colour to the view held by some[158] that Parākrama Bāhu I after his successful expedition coined them even before he left the peninsula.

The Military Position

The Ṣinhalese were rather weak both on land and on the sea. They owed their knowledge of military science and engineering to the Indians in their midst. The genius of the people is said to have been averse to arms and navigation[159] and mercenaries from the mainland were encouraged to enter their service even as the 'clever Dutch' did in the Moghul Empire. But cases were not wanting where employees in key positions had no scruple to eat the crop they were fencing. The earliest notice which occurs of the establishment of what might be regarded as a national marine for Ceylon is associated with the efforts of Mogallana to rid the shore of the depradations from the mainland. Prior to that time, some sovereigns had indeed employed Malabaris in policing the coast but Mogallana's attempt just mentioned is the first general offensive against the aliens of any denomination. Canoes called *vaḷḷams*, modelled on those found in the estuaries and lakes of Malabar, were constructed and henceforth the ship-building activities of the Sinhalese proceeded apace.

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156 *Encyclopædia Brittanica*, Vol. XIX, p. 905.

157 *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 152. Also Plate VII, No. 7, near p. 48, in C. J. Brown, *Coins of India*.

158 Tennant, *Ceylon*, Vol. I, p. 462.

159 Lindsay, *Merchant Shipping*, Vol. I, p. 155.

The Tamil State of Jaffna

The Tamil kingdom of Jaffna certainly stood in very refreshing contrast. Ibn Batuta writing about 1347 refers to the Hindu chief at Jaffna who had in his possession a fleet in which he occasionally transported troops against the Muhammadans on the other side of the Strait. The traveller was shown too the pearls in the possession of the Tamil chief who sent *yogis* to take him on a pilgrimage to Adam's Peak. It is fair to infer from all accounts that the Tamil dominion in the island was real and effective.

Ethnic and Literary Considerations

It is wonderful to reflect on the extent to which a large number of South Indian communities is considered by scholars as ethnically related to the Sinhalese. The latter's descent from the old Āryan stock is of great antiquity and mention may be made of at least one custom that had survived up till a very recent date. Polyandry both on the 'phratragomic' and the unrestricted form was prevalent in the highlands of Ceylon till 1859 when it was checked by legislation. The practice however appears to have been known to exist even as late as 1899.[160]

We have already referred to the prevalence of the caste system among the Buddhists of Ceylon. It is indeed to be regretted that that 'blighting' institution has been allowed to take root even in a land of the Buddha.[161]

There is ground to believe that the pre-Dravidians were ethnically related to the *Veddahs*[162] who show a strong resemblance but whose language the Elu is, however, said to be peculiar to themselves.[163] Ugra, the son of Thatathakei, is said to have brought Veḷḷaḷans into the island and from the Cōḷa country to which his wife belonged.[164]

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[160] V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 7 n.

[161] See foot-note No. 125.

[162] E. Thurston, *Todas of Celebes and Bantims of Sumatra.*

[163] R. Mookherji, p. 489.

[164] Nelson, *Madura Country*, Vol. III, p. 49. Bishop Caldwell also states that the Veḷḷaḷas of the Tinnevelly District came from the

According to the Pāndyamanḍaḷa Cōḷamandala Tondaimanḍala Rājakkaḷ the Maravas were originally a colony of fishermen in Ceylon who were settled at Rāmēśvaram by Rāma after the conquest of Laṅka to guard the temple and protect the pilgrims.

There is a general belief prevalent among the Paravas of Ceylon to the effect that their original country was Ayōdhya; previous to the Mahābhārata war they inhabited the Jumna region. This tradition also says that they were descended from Varuṇa; they sprang up with Kartikeya from the holy Sarawar lake when the *asuras* were proceeded against. They escaped a deluge at the close of the last *kalpa* and managed to escape in a boat and were settled in Ceylon.[165] They form today a distinct community in Tuticorin where their *jathi talavamars* (community-leaders) are even now prominent citizens.

The Ezhavas

But the Ezhavas, the Tīyyas and some of the Shāṇars of the west coast are among the more well-known communities for whom a Ceylonese origin has been claimed. According to Mr. C. Achyuta Menon the Ezhavas came from Ilam and introduced in Cochin the cultivation of cocoanuts (*ten-kai*: southern fruit) the emigration being dated about the third or fourth century A.D. The cocoanut was not mentioned in the Periplus Maris Erythroci (first century A.D.) and Mr. Menon's view is based on this fact.[166] Interesting light on the circumstances of the Ezhava migrations from Ceylon is thrown in the following excerpt from Mr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Aiyar's *Cochin Tribes and Castes*.[167] 'In ancient times when migrations after migrations from the land of their birth (Ceylon) had taken place the King of the Island was reluctant to allow

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Cōḷa country and the Maravars from Ramnad and the Shaṇars from Ceylon. See *History of Tinnevelly*.

165 See Simon Casie Chetty's article in *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. IV, 1837, p. 130.

166 *Cochin State Manual*, p. 33.

167 Vol. I, p. 293.

any further efflux. Nevertheless many people resolved to leave their native country when the sovereign thought it prudent to extort an oath from them that they would not marry to settle in the land to which they are going. In obedience to this oath of their ancestors the Izhuvans of Palghat and Chittur do not themselves marry but allow their sisters to do so for them.'

Among the immigrants into Ceylon may be mentioned the Kammāḷans (artisan caste)[168] and the Nagarta community of the Kanarese country.[169] The latter represent the old 'Velaikkara' community, all Lingayats or Śaivites who had once migrated to Ceylon and formed a body of mercenaries in the employ of Sinhalese kings. These people are also mentioned in the Tanjore inscriptions of Cōḷa kings whose armies had recruits from that community.

The Literary Side

The *Dīpawamśa*, the *Mahāwamśa* and the *Tīkās* or commentaries constitute the Chef-d'œuvre of Pali literature. Ceylon's religious and theological lore as well as the texts written in the Elu language are all in a dialect which is said to present unequivocal proof of affinity with the group of languages spoken in the Dekhan. Though not based directly either on Sanskrit or Pali the Sinhalese language has been enriched from both sources[170] bearing towards them a relation similar to that which English bears to the combination of Latin, Anglo-Saxon and French.

Ceylon is an old country and her history bears the impress of the profound influence of Buddhism. Her records and inscriptions are of hoary antiquity and go to the second century B.C. and the inscriptions, the most ancient in Ceylon,

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168 C. A. Innes, *Malabar*, p. 124.

169 R. Mookherji, *Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 262.

170 Max Müller held Sinhalese to be an Āryan tongue. But this view overlooks the possibility of there having existed a language prior to the Āryan invasion. James d' Alvis showed (*J.C.B.R.A.S.*, 1867–70) that there is no resemblance between Sinhalase and the Dravidian tongues. Mr. R. C. Childers maintained that the former was Sanskritic. See *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 876.

on the rock of the Vessagiri *vihāra* at Anurādhapura cut in Brahma *lipi* characters[171] bears out the reality of the power wielded by the Buddhist heirarchy. Besides this stupendous force derived from Gautama with all its implications Ceylon derived much from other cultures she came into contact with and absorbed not a few of their features, *e.g.*, the *Pattini* worship and the deities Śiva and Gaṇeśa from the Hindu pantheon. And finally Ceylon represents a southernmost edge in Asia of the influence of the dynasties of Hindusthan. The wide range of Aśokan inscriptions, for instance, shows the extent of the dominion or supremacy of that emperor. The interest of Ceylonese affairs to a student of Indian history is thus profound and peculiarly prolific. To mention only two points: the title Aśoka could be read only in an imperfect fragment brought from Ceylon[172] and in S. Levi's discovery of the Guptan synchronism with Meghavaṇa has been furnished a sheet anchor indispensable to all students of Indian chronology.

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171 *Encyclopædia Brittanica*, Vol. V, p. 782.

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THE HISTORY OF THE VIṢṆUKUṆḌINS

By K. S. Vaidyanathan, B.A.

I

We shall proceed first to fix the genealogy[1] of the line of kings of this little known dynasty of the Dekhan. For this, and to free the mind from any misconception, we give a synopsis of the records that are available to us, which constitute the main sources of the history of this line. These are the five sets of copper-plates which contain the charters issued by the several kings of the dynasty. They are popularly known as the Īpūr plates (1st and 2nd sets) of Mādhavavarman[2] and Mādhavavarman,[3] the Telegu Academy plates of Mahārāja Mādhavavarman Janāśraya,[4] the Rāmatīrtham plates[5] of Rāja Indravarman and the Chikkulla plates[6] of Mahārāja Vikramēndravarman. Now as to their contents.

(i)

Īpūr—1st Set	*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 334 ff.
Mahārāja Gōvindavarman :	who meditated on the holy lord of Śrī-Parvata and performed gifts of cows, gold and land.
Mahārāja Mādhavavarman :	who delighted the hearts of the young women standing on (the top of) the palaces of Trivaranagara ; performed *Agnishṭōmas* and *Hiraṇyagarbhas*; performed also 11 *Aśvamēdhas* : and granted the village of Vilembali in Guddādivishaya to the Brāhmaṇa Agniśarman of the Vatsagōtra, from his residence in the camp of victory (*vijayaskanda- vārā*) of Kuḍāvāḍa.
Prince Mañchyaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka	

[1] The latest attempts the results of which differ from those obtained here, are to be found in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 88 ff ; and *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. IX.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 334 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 337 ff.

[4] C.P. No. 7 of 1913–14, *Jour. of Dep. of Let.*, Vol. XI, p. 30 ff. ; *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol., VI, Pt. I, p. 17 ff. It is here entitled 'The Pulōmburu Plates of Mādhavavarman' ; *Bhārati*, 1930–1.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 133 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 193 ff.

Executor : The *ājñā* of the grant was the king's dear son Mañchyaṉṉabhaṭṭāraka.

Dated in the thirty-seventh year and fifteenth day of the seventh fortnight of the hot season.

"He seems to have resided at Trivaranagara"—Dr. Hultzsch. "The seal is divided by a cross-line into two sections. The lower section bears, in relief, the legend *Śrī-Mādhavavarma* in two lines. Above the line seems to be a figure of Lakṣmī or a Swastika on a pedestal, flanked by two lamp-stands and surmounted by the Sun (?) and the crescent of the moon."—p. 334.

(ii)

Telegu Academy Plates

Vikrama(ma*)hēndravarman *i.e.*, Vikramēndravarman :	who meditates on the feet of the holy lord of Śrī-Parvata *
Vikramāśraya Gōvindavarman Mahārāja :	victor in several battles; whose feet are shining with the lustre of the gems contained in the crowns of other kings; who is the abode of prowess.
Mahārāja Mādhavavarman Janāśraya :	granted in his 48th regnal year, the village of Pulōmburu in Gudavādi-vishaya to Śivaśarman son of Dāmaśarman and grandson of Rudraśarman of Gautama gōtra and resident of Kuṇḍūra in Karmarāshtra; who delighted the hearts of young women in the palaces of Trivaranagara; who performed 1,000 sacrifices; who gave *Hiraṇyagarbhas*; who performed 11 *Aśvamēdhas*; who is a Paramabrāhmaṇa; who is devoted to the feet of his mother and father.

Note :—Grant made after crossing the river Gōdāvari, when he set out to conquer the east (*prāg-dik*), of the village of

* "Whose edicts pass unchallenged with the name of Viṣṇukuṇḍi; who has the circle of kings reduced to vassalage by his own power; who equalled Dēvēndra in arms, valour, strength and prowess."

Pulōmbūru on the bank of Daliyavāvi as well as four nivarttanas of land in Mayindavāṭika in Gudavādi-vishaya to Vedic scholars.

(iii)

Rāmatīrtham Plates

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman: who meditated on the feet of the divine lord of Śrī-Parvata bathing at the end of 11 *Aśvamēdhas*. Performed 1,000 other sacrifices.

Rāja Vikramēndra : who meditated on the feet of his father and mother and who became an ornament of both families. (This statement alludes to the matrimonial alliance of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin with the Vākāṭaka family to which Vikramēndra's mother must have belonged—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 194 and 197.)

Rāja Indravarman 27th year : worshipper of Śiva (Mahēśvara); encountered in hundreds of thousands of battles numerous four-tusked (elephants).

"As *Chatur-danta* 'four-tusked' is an epithet of *Airāvata*, the elephants of the east, Prof. Kielhorn has suggested that the curious boast may refer to victories gained in the eastern direction."—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 195, n. 2.

The record registers the grant of the village of Peruvāṭaka in the Plakirāshṭra to a Brāhmaṇa named Nāgaśarman of Maṇḍira gōtra. Issued from his residence or camp at Puraṇisangama.

(iv)

Chikkulla Plates

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman : who washed off the stains of the world by his ablutions after 11 *Aśvamēdhas*; who celebrated thousands of sacrifices; who by a *Sarvamēdha* sacrifice obtained to the supreme dominion over all beings; who celebrated a 100,000 *bahusuvarṇa*, *puṇḍhrika*, *puruṣamedha*, *vājapeya*, *yūdhya* (?) *shōdasin*, *rājāsriya*, *prādhirājya*, *prājāpatya*, and various other large and important excellent (sacrifices); who by the celebration of excellent sacrifices attained

		a firmly established supremacy, (and) whose two feet were bent down by multitudes of heaps of jewels from the diadems of the glorious and great kings of the whole orb of the earth.
Vikramēndravarman	:	whose birth was embellished by the two families of the Viṣṇukuṇḍiṇs and the Vākāṭas. *Viṣṇukuṇḍi-vākāṭa-vaṁśadvayālaṁkrita-janmanaḥ.*
Mahārāja Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman War-like exploits, conqueror of east, " defeated all the *dāyādas* in battle "	:	who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva); who gained extensive victories when his troops of elephants encountered in battle numerous four-tusked elephants; who found a meritorious enjoyment of life in constantly bestowing land, cows and gold, and giving girls in marriage.
Mahārāja Vikramēndravarman 10th year	:	the dear eldest son (*priyajyēshṭa-putrō*) a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva); the most noble, who, in childhood already embellished with all the virtues of a king has duly taken upon himself the whole burden of government. From his residence at Ḷēndalūra, Vikramēndravarman who meditated on the feet of the holy lord of Śrī-Parvata, gave the village of Rēgonṟam which was south-east of the village of Rāvirēva.

(v)

Īpūr—2nd Set		*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 337 ff.
Mahārāja Mādhavavarman	:	who had removed the stains of the world by bathing at the end of 11 *Aśvamēdhas*; who had performed 1,000's of *Agniṣṭōmas*; whose pair of feet was studded with jewels on the top of the diadems of many bowing vassals.

Dēvavarman : who displayed matchless well-known valour in attacking warriors.

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Mādhavavarman 47th year : who is the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya mountains; who is endowed with policy, modesty and honesty; who meditates on the feet of the holy lord of Śrī-Parvata (and who belongs to the family) of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

1·8 f. seems to refer to two donees Agniśarman and Indraśarman.

Dated in the forty-seventh year and the seventh day of the seventh fortnight of the rainy season.

Registers the grant of the village of Murōnikaḷiki to the two pious Brahmins mentioned above.

Seal: Bears the legend *Śrī Mādhavavarman* and the Lion Symbol.

Having noted the pedigree furnished in each of the five sets of plates, we proceed to make out the connected genealogy of the dynasty contained in them. We have grouped the five sets of plates in the above order, so that it might be easy to follow the line of reasoning and argument advanced here in the making out of the genealogy. The first set of Īpūr plates gives us the name Mahārāja Mādhavavarman and his father Māhārāja Gōvindavarman. This Mahārāja Mādhavavarman was one of the greatest kings of the line. He is credited with having performed eleven *Aśvamēdhas* and a thousand *Kratus*, and to have delighted the hearts of the ladies of the Royal blood of Trivaranagara. The next copper-plate which is the Telugu Academy plates of the same king, gives us two generations prior to him. It tells us that the father of Mahārāja Gōvindavarman and the grandfather of Mahārāja Mādhavavarman was called Vikramēndravarman and that he was a devotee of the lord of Śrī-Parvata. Combining the nformation furnished in the two sets of plates, we get the following genealogy :—

(A)

Vikramēndravarman[7]	: who meditated on the feet of the lord of Śrī-Parvata.
Vikramāśraya Mahārāja Gōvindavarman	: who had meditated on the holy lord of Śrī-Parvata, who performed gifts of cows, gold and land; and who was victor in several battles.
Janāśraya Mahārāja Mādhavavarman 37th, 48th years	: who delights the hearts of the young women standing on (the top of) the palaces of Trivaranagara; who has performed *Hiraṇyagarbhas*; who has performed 1,000 *Agnishṭōma* sacrifices; who has performed 11 *Aśvamēdhas*; who is a Paramabrāhmaṇa; who is devoted to the feet of his mother and father.
Prince Mañchyaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka	

We shall now pass on to consider the next two sets of plates, *viz.*, the Rāmatīrtham and Chikkulla plates. On a comparison of the two, one would readily find that the Chikkulla plates give a generation later than the Rāmatīrtham plates.[8] In both, the earliest ancestor given is Mahārāja Mādhavavarman, who performed eleven *Aśvamēdhas* and one thousand other sacrifices. These are the same attributes that are noted against him in the previous two sets of plates. While prince Mañchyaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka figures as the dear son and *ājñapti* of the grant of Mādhavavarman in the earlier plates, it is noted in the later grants that Vikramēndravarman was a son of Mādhavavarman. Hence they were both the sons of Mādhavavarman. Of Vikramēndravarman it is said that he was the ornament of the two families, *viz.*, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Vākāṭakas. Further the two sets of plates bear evidence to the fact that succession continued in Vikramēndravarman's line. The combined genealogy of the two records alone is :—

(B)

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman	: (extra to what we know already) who meditated on the feet of the divine lord of Śrī-Parvata; (a detailed list of his many sacrifices); who was bowed to by glorious and great kings of the orb of the earth.

[7] It was wrongly read as Vikrama(ma*)hēndravarman.

[8] The seal of the Chikkulla plates resembles that of the Rāmatīrtham plates.

Rāja Vikramēndravarman :	who meditated on the feet of his father and mother and who was an ornament of both the families, *i.e.*, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Vākāṭakas. *Viṣṇukuṇḍi - vākāta - vamśadvayālamkṛita-janmanaḥ.*
Mahārāja Indrabhaṭṭāraka : *alias* Indravarma	devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) ; who encountered in hundreds of thousands of battles numerous four-tusked (elephants) ; who defeated all his *dāyādas* in battle ; who found a meritorious enjoyment of life in constantly bestowing land, cows and gold and giving girls in marriage.
Mahārāja Vikramēndravarman :	the dear eldest son (*priya-jyēshṭa-putra*) ; a devout worshipper of Śiva ; the most noble, who, in childhood, embellished with all the virtues of a king took upon himself the whole burden of the government of the kingdom ; who meditated on the feet of the holy lord of Śrī-Parvata.

It now remains for us to examine the last copper-plate and to note the connection of the members therein, disclosed with the members of the above genealogies which we have arrived at with the help of the rest. The donor of the last copper-plate is one Mādhavavarman who was the lord of the Trikūṭa and Malaya hills, *i.e.*, who had his kingdom in the west. The father of this king was named Dēvavarman and his grandfather was Mahārāja Mādhavavarman who had removed the stains of the world by bathing at the end of eleven *Aśvamēdhas* and had performed one thousand other sacrifices and whose pair of feet was studded with jewels on the tops of the diadems of many bowing vassals. The description of the king exactly agrees with what we have learnt from the Chikkulla plates, the last clause being a repetition of the same fact (that he had many vassals bowing at his feet). Thus we see that Mahārāja Mādhavavarman of the last plate is the same king who was the ancestor of Vikramēndravarman whose only known regnal year is ten, and who was the father of prince Mañchyaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka and Vikramēndravarman of the

vaṁśa dvayālaṁkṛta fame. From this copper-plate we learn that Mahārāja Mādhavavarman had a third son named Dēvavarman; and the grandson of Mādhavavarman through this son was named after him and was the lord of the Trikūṭa and the Malaya mountains. Thus the genealogy unbracing all the members of the family represented in the plates will stand as follows :—

The Genealogy of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins

Vikramēndravarman	: who meditated on the feet of the lord of Śrī-Parvata.
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Vikramāśraya Gōvindavarman Mahārāja	: who meditated on the holy lord of Śrī-Parvata ; who performed gifts of cows, gold and land ; who was victor in several battles.
|	
Janāśraya Mādhavavarman I Mahārāja 37th, 48th years	: who delighted the hearts of young ladies standing on (the top of) the palaces of Trivaranagara ; who had performed *Hiraṇyagarbhas*, 11 *Aśvamēdhas* ; and 1,000 other sacrifices ; who was a Paramabrāhmaṇa ; who was devoted to the feet of his father and mother ; who meditated on the feet of the divine lord of Śrī-Parvata ; who was bowed to by glorious and great kings of the orb of the earth, *i.e.*, whose pair of feet was studded with jewels on the top of the diadems of many bowing vassals.

Sons of Mādhavavarman I:

Rāja Vikramēndravarman I who meditated on the feet of his father and mother and who was the ornament of the two families, *viz.*, Viṣṇukuṇḍins and Vākātakas.	Mañchyaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka	Dēvavarman : who displayed matchless valour in attacking warriors.
|		|
Mahārāja Indrabhaṭṭāraka who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) ; who encountered in hundreds of thousands of battles numerous four-tusked elephants ; who defeated all the *dāyādas* in battle ; who found a meritorious enjoyment of life in constantly bestowing lands,		Mādhavavarman II who was the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya hills ; who was endowed with policy, modesty and honesty ; who meditated on the feet of the holy lord of Śrī-Paravta and who belonged to the family of the

cows and gold and giving girls in marriage. 27th year

Viṣṇukuṇḍins. 47th year.

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Mahārāja Vikramēndravarman II who was the dear eldest son (*priya-jyēshṭa-putra*) of his father; who was a devout worshipper of Śiva; who, in childhood, embellished with all the virtues of a king, duly took upon himself the whole burden of the government of the kingdom; who meditated on the feet of the holy lord of Śrī-Parvata. 10th year

Note.—The genealogy arrived at above is based on some primary valid assumptions. One such is the identification of Mādhavavarman of the Īpūr and Pulōmbūru plates with the king of that name in the Rāmatīrtham and Chikkulla plates. The king of the first two sets is often separated from the king of the last two and are deemed to have been two different kings ruling at different periods. That this distinction is improbable and that our identifiction is correct will be evident from what has been said above and from the following. There are kings with the name Mādhavavarman in all the sets of plates that are available. The one mentioned in Īpūr second set is expressly stated to have been the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya mountains and he is not given credit for the performance of any sacrifice. The other four plates do give the credit of performing sacrifices to the king named Mādhavavarman. All the other Mādhavavarmans are said to have performed eleven *Aśvamēdhas* and one thousand *Agniṣṭōma* sacrifices. One among these copper-plates gives out the detailed list of his other sacrifices. It is really noteworthy that the same number of each of the sacrifices is said to have been performed by the king bearing the same name, Mādhavavarman. This necessitates the identity of the king as one and the same in all the four plates. It is greatly improbable that it is otherwise, *i.e.*, that more kings than one performed the same number of *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices and the same number of *Agniṣṭōmas*. If the kings were different, it would seem that the performance of sacrifices had become a monopoly of the different

Mādhavavarmans of the same dynasty, which conclusion is improbable. The fact that the first two sets above noted give him the additional adjunct of his conquest over the lord of Trivaranagara, cannot be taken to mean that the two Mādhavavarmans were different. The information supplied by the others is greatly supplemented by that furnished by these two sets. Only an additional achievement of the same king is known and it cannot indicate anything else. Similarly his title Janāśraya is only known to us by his Pulōmbūru plates and it would be absurd if we were to differentiate him from the king of that name in the other records. We have to take into consideration all the facts noted about each king in each of the plates and the gathered list will be the list of the achievements of any king. The information supplied in one set of the plates need not necessarily be repeated in another set. The evidence of palæography in the attempt to make a distinction between the Mādhavavarmans does not prove useful. Palæography can only indicate a period of time and not a point of time, and as such it is wasteful to press this kind of evidence into service. It is also worth noting that even the little that it could help us is only when any definite date is known for a king of the dynasty. The genealogy that we have made out above is just the same as that arrived at by Mr. D. C. Sircar;[9] but our chronology differs from his.

II

In the previous section we have, after considering all known facts, arrived at a connected genealogy of the line of Vishṇukuṇḍin kings whose chronology we shall try to settle in this section. The history of the dynasty would be incomplete if there is no definite chronological skeleton behind it. To settle the chronology of this particular early line we have very few details and it is only by reasoned arguments that we will be able to fix the chronology on some definite ground. A feature

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[9] *Ind. Hist. Quar.*, Vol. IX, p. 278 and quoted in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 19.

that is noteworthy in their documents is that they give only two generations of their immediate ancestors and they do not give even the period of reign of the previous rulers. The only reference that we could find to the year of rule of any king is the mention of the particular year in which he made a grant. If any one has not made a grant or if any grant made by a king has not come down to us, then we do not know much about him, excepting the little that we could gather from the records of his predecessors[10] or successors. A special feature of the grants of this line is that they are dated in particular fortnights of the particular seasons of the year. This indeed is a peculiar method of dating, not very common among the records of other dynasties and is specially a characteristic of the period to which they belonged. Since the latest examples that have come down to us, dated in this method belong to not later than the sixth century A.D.[11] it is clear

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[10] For example Prince Mañchyaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka is only known to us from the Īpūr plates of his father Mādhavavarman, and we find no mention of him after that.

[11] This primitive division of the year into three seasons and eight fortnights is to be found in the following epigraphical records. (1) " Ōṁgōḍu plates (No. 1)," *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 248 ff. (2) " The Hirahaḍagaḷḷi plates of Dharmamahārājādhirāja Śivaskandavarman," *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 5. (3) " Dūdia plates of Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Pravarasēna II," *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 258. (4) " The inscriptions found in the Nasik caves," *Arch. Surv. West Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 107. (5) "The inscriptions found in the Kanhēri caves," *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 75, 79. (6) " The grants of early Kadamba king Mṛigēśavarman," *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 37, and Ravivarman, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 30. These, therefore, furnish an indication of antiquity. This division of the year is also to be found in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Vēdāṅga-jyōtiṣa*. The three seasons, each including eight fortnights, were, *grīṣma* or *grihma* (hot season), *varṣāḥ* or *vāsa* (rainy season), and *hēmanta* (the cold season). The present seasons are six in number having each: four fortnights they are called *Vasantā* (the Spring), *Grīṣma*, *Varṣāḥ*, *Śarad* (the Autumn), *Hēmanta* and *Śiśira* (the dewy season). A trace of the primitive division of the year into three seasons is to be noted in the *Chaturmāśya* performed at the beginning of each season on the full moon days of the months (*Phalguṇa*), *Āśāḍha* and *Kārtika*.

that they flourished about that time. The fact that Jayasimha the successor of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana on the Eastern Cāḷukya throne, renewed a grant that was made by a king of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Dynasty, is also an evidence that points to the same conclusion. Beyond this the particular method of dating in the various fortnights of the different seasons of the year, cannot lead us and it would be vain to strain any further on this evidence. The characters in which the plates of this line are written belong roughly to the sixth century A.D.[12] As these are merely general indications that would guide us

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[12] Palæography is an uncertain and insecure guide in determining the exact time of reign of any sovereign. The best that could be said in this direction is that the dictum passed by veteran scholars like Dr. Hultzsch and others on the available records of this dynasty cannot be taken to represent safe grounds for fixing the chronology and much less the genealogy. When these scholars were reviewing the charters of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Dynasty, only a very rough and inaccurate estimate of the palæography of the period to which they belonged was possible to be made out. A similar inaccurate estimation of palæography can be cited. The charters of the Vākāṭakas were all incised in what are known as box-headed characters and those of some other dynasties were also in the same type. This variety was described as indicative of a date in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. But now, further research and many other historical facts have made scholars to think that the box-headed variety must be referred to the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. For an example we may cite the opinion of Dr. Hultzsch on the palæography of the two sets of the Īpūr plates, which he edited. On the palæography of the first set (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 334 ff.) he remarked, "The alphabet is of an earlier southern type than that of the two other published grants of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family"—the grants published earlier were the Rāmatīrtham and the Chikkulla plates. On the second set (*Ibid.*, p. 337 ff.) he remarked as the alphabet of this set is earlier than the preceding one, " and as grandsons are frequently named after their grandfathers I consider it not impossible that Mādhavavarman II was the grandfather of Gōvindavarman's son Mādhavavarman who would then have to be designated Madhavavarman III ". From a consideration of the above view, it will be readily seen that an unsound discrimination of palæography can only lead to multiplying the number of kings bearing a particular name regardless of indications to the contrary.

nowhere else except in locating this dynasty in a particular period of Indian History, we will have to seek other methods of fixing their exact time of rule by means of more definite data that are available to us.

The first and foremost importance that could be given in the determination of the chronology of this dynasty, is to the definite informations that form the starting points in this attempt. To this class belong the two sets of plates which were discovered together in one place and which belong to the reigns of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman and the Eastern Cāḷukya Jayaśimhavallabha. They are called the Pulōṁbūru[13] plates of the respective kings. The Pulōṁbūru plates of Mādhavavarman record the grant of the village of Pulōṁbūru in the Guddavādi-vishaya by Janāśraya Mādhavavarman, after his crossing the Gōdāvari river with the desire to conquer the east (*prāg-dik*). The village was granted to a certain Śivaśarman who was the son of Dāmaśarman, and who was the grandson of Rudraśarman of the Gautama gōtra and Taittirīya-śākha, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which occurred on a full moon day of *Phalguṇa*. The Pulōṁbūru plates of Jayaśimhavallabha,[14] which were discovered in the same place along with the above set, record the grant of the same village in the same vishaya to Rudraśarman, who was the son of Śivaśarman and the grandson of Dāmaśarman of the Gautama gōtra and Taittirīya-śākha. It would be apparent from this that the details in every particular make it clear that Śivaśarman who was the donee of the plates of Mādhavavarman was the father of Rudraśarman who was the recipient

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[13] Various readings for this word are found in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 254 ff. Eg. Pulibūmra (p. 255), Pulēbūru, Pulōbumra, (in text) and Pulibūmra (in translation). Pulimbūru is found in *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 72 ff. *A. R.* for 1913–14 has Pulebūmra (Pulebūru).

[14] *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 72 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 254 ff. In the former it is entitled " The Pulimbūru plates of the Cāḷukya King Jayasimha " and in the latter " The Pulibūmra plates of the Eastern Cāḷukya King Jayasimha I ".

of the village from Jayaśimhavallabha. In keeping with this conclusion, Rudraśarman is called the *Pūrvāgrahārika* of the village. It is clear that due to some reason or other, as for instance the troubled state of the country, Rudraśarman lost possession of his village, and when order and peace came to be restored by the Eastern Cāḷukyas under Jayaśimha I, he seems to have made some representations to the reigning king and got back the village which was his before. This information is of inestimable value to us in determining the time when Mahārāja Mādhavavarman, one of the most powerful kings of the dynasty, ruled. For ascertaining the period of rule of this king, we shall have to proceed as follows. The date of the grant of the Pulōṁbūru plates of Jayaśimha I is the fifth year[15] of his reign and that of the Pulōṁbūru plates of Janāśraya Mādhavavarman is the forty-eigth year[16] of that king's reign. The question that now arises is how many years did elapse between the forty-eigth year of Mahārāja Mādhavavarman and the fifth year of Jayaśimhavallabha. Let us first ascertain how many kings there were and how many of them ruled. On a reference to the genealogical tree, we have made out, it will be seen that there were in all six kings in the Vishṇukuṇḍin family after Mādhavavarman. We must know how many of these six ruled and where they ruled. These six kings were the three sons of Mahārāja Mādhavavarman, *viz.*, Vikramēndravarman, Mañchyaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka and Dēvavarma; the son and grandson of Vikramēndravarman, *viz.*, Indrabhaṭṭāraka and Vikramēndravarman; and the son of Dēvavarma, *viz.*, Mādhavavarman. Of the three sons of Mahārāja Mādhavavarman, Mañchyaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka is only known to us as a prince figuring as *ājñapati* in one of his father's grants.[17] None of the records of the later kings does ever mention him at all. Hence it is certain that Prince Mañchyaṇṇa did not rule over

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15 See *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. V, p. 183.

16 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 17 ff. It is wrongly read as 40 in *Ind. Hist. Qart.*, Vol. IX, p. 278.

17 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 334 ff.

any part of the country. Mādhavavarman (the son of Dēvavarman) is known to us from one of his copper-plates which is dated in his forty-seventh year of reign,[18] where he is described as the Lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya. He issued his grant from Amarapura. This description of him indicates that he held sway over the western portion of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dominion under Mahārāja Mādhavavarman after Dēvavarman, who, we can say from the description of him in the plates, did not hold regal powers. Thus it is clear that in the eastern portion of the vast dominions which Mahārāja Mādhavavarman ruled, the kings of the line of Vikramēndravarman, another son of Mādhavavarman, began to rule after him, and that the west was well guarded by Dēvavarman and his son Mādhavavarman. Thus between the forty-eigth year of Janāśraya and the fifth year of Jayasimha, the throne of Mādhavavarman in the east was occupied and the country ruled by three successive kings Vikramēndravarman, his son Indrabhaṭṭāraka, and his son Vikramēndravarman. We have already seen that it was to the son of Śivaśarman, who was the *Pūrvāgrahārika*, that the village was regranted by Jayasimha I. It seems that a period of about seventy years should have elapsed between the two dates. This conclusion is suggested by the following considerations. The plates of Mādhavavarman were issued in the last years of his rule, *i.e.*, in the forty-eigth year of his reign. This Mādhavavarman who was one of the greatest sovereigns of the line ruled over extensive dominions as he is reported to have performed eleven *Aśvamēdhas* and one thousand *Agniṣṭōmas* (*Kṛatus*) and as the very grant of the village of Pulōmbūru was made when he had crossed the river Gōdāvari with a view to conquer the east. Śivaśarman, the donee of the plates, might have been a young man when he met Mādhavavarman, and that Rudraśarman, his son, must have been an old man when he made representations to Mahārāja Jayasimha for the renewal of the grant of the same village which he had lost by some circumstance of which we are completely left

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18 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 337 ff.

in the dark. That the interval could have been well nigh seventy years is also made possible by the fact that at least three kings had ruled between the two dates above noted.[19] As Mādhavavarman had a long reign of nearly fifty years it is but natural and reasonable to expect his successors, who were three in number, to have ruled for a period of not more than sixty years (*i.e.*, three generations). The next question that confronts us is the division of this period between the three kings. The only known date of Vikramēndravarman, the last king of the dynasty, is ten and we are led to believe that it was in that year that the eastern dominions were acquired from him by the Cāḷukyas, who had come to stay and rule after him. Indrabhaṭṭāraka, the father of Vikramēndravarman, is known to have ruled for not less than twenty-seven years since his Rāmatīrtham plates were issued in that year. As his son Vikramēndravarman is reported to have come to the throne as a boy (in his childhood as the Chikkulla plates put it), we can assume that he ruled only for two or three years after the twenty-seventh regnal year. So then allowing for the rule of the Eastern Cāḷukyas and these two Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings their respective periods of rule, we come to know that about sixty years should have covered their reigns. (Indrabhaṭṭāraka 27 or 30 +Vikramēndra-

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[19] While comparing the two sets of plates, one would notice that Rudraśarman in the plates of Jayasimha I is called the resident of the town of Asanapura. The native place of his father Śivaśarman, was, as found in the plates of Mādhavavarman, Kunṟūru in Kammarāṣṭra. He should have resided in Kunṟūru or in Pulōṁbūru which was the *agrahāra* granted to his father. So it happens that Rudraśarman had changed his place of residence. Another point worthy of note is that the grant of Pulōṁbūru by Mādhavavarman was issued when he had crossed the river Gōdāvari in order to conquer the eastern region (*prāg-dik*), and the grant of Jayasimha I was also made when he was in camp (Vijayaskandavāra). These points will be clear when we study the two sets together : they show that much time should have elapsed between the two events and that our approximate period of seventy years is justified.

varman 10 + E. Cāḷukya Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana 18 + Jayasimha 5). We thus see that we can hardly allow ten years of rule for Vikramēndravarman, the son of Mādhavavarman and the father of Indrabhaṭṭāraka. It has been suspected that he ever ruled especially after the long reign of his father Janāśraya. The plates which mention him do not attribute to him any deed of importance and the only thing with which his name stands associated is that he was an ornament of both the families, *i.e.*, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Vākāṭakas, thereby clearly implying that his mother was a Vākāṭaka princess. The doubt of his having ever ruled, that may arise from the fact that no plates of the king has yet come to light, cannot be safely urged, for he is given the title Rāja in the Rāmatīrtham plates of his son. This same title, his son Indravarman also bore, and he did certainly rule for more than twenty-seven years. Consequently, it becomes proven that Rāja Vikramēndravarman did succeed his father and rule the kingdom, though it was only for a short period of about ten years. By the attempt that we have made above, we have been able to give a chronological framework to the tree showing the line of kings that ruled after Māhārāja Mādhavavarman. We cannot leave this here. The predecessors of Mādhavavarman were two. They were his father Mahārāja Gōvindavarman and his grandfather Vikramēndravarman. These two, the dynast and his son and successor, were presumably men of great valour and had built up an independent empire. As such the two kings may each be given a reign of thirty years.[20] The kingdom was extended after their reigns, by the prowess of Janāśraya Mādhavavarman. The fifth year of Jayasimha I

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[20] This average of thirty years' rule suits very well with most of the dynasties of Indian kings and kings of the Dekhan in particular, and it is not too much for the founder and the second king of the line. It should also be noted that we have not been indiscriminate in assuming the duration of the reign of kings. We have assumed only in the cases where not even a single year is known, and where there is actually no other evidence of an exact nature to guide us.

of the Eastern Cāḷukya line being known to be A.D. 638, we have the following approximate periods for the kings of the Vishṇukuṇḍin dynasty :—

Vikramēndravarman : 30 (457–87 A.D.)

Mahārāja Gōvindavarman : 30 (487–517 A.D.)

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman Janāśraya : 48 (517–65 A.D.)

Mañchyaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka

Rāja Vikramēndravarman : 10 (565–75 A.D.)

Dēvavarma

Mahārāja } Rāja } Indravarma *alias* Indrabhaṭṭāraka : 27 or 30 (575–602/5 A.D.)[21]

Mādhavavarman : 47 (565–612 A.D.)

Mahārāja Vikramēndravarman : 10 (605–615 A.D.)[22]

It is worthy of note that the genealogy and chronology finds support and strength in the fact that there was a lunar eclipse in the forty-eighth year of the reign of Mādhavavarman which fell in A.D. 565. The Pulōṁbūru plates of the king was issued in that year and the grant of the village of Pulōmbūru was made on the lunar eclipse day. Thus our approximation may be said to be confirmed in this particular. We shall see in the sequel, under the section devoted to the study of the history of this line of kings, that the date arrived at for

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[21] It is just possible that Indrabhaṭṭāraka should have lived a few years later than his twenty-seventh year, which was the date of his Rāmatīrtham record, for he is said to have overcome in hundreds of thousands of battles numerous four-tusked elephants and to have defeated all the *dāyādas* in battle.

[22] If the first suggestion be improbable it becomes clear that by A.D. 612, both the branches of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty, *i.e.*, under Mādhavavarman and Vikramēndravarman came to an end.

Janāśraya Mādhavavarman is further confirmed by the approximate date of Bhāravi,[23] and by the Tivāradēva synchronism. King Tivaradeon belonged to the time of Mādhavavarman and was defeated and perhaps also killed by him.[24]

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[23] See Section III.

[24] *Ibid.*, In editing the Tāṇḍivāḍa plates of Pṛthivīmūlarāja (*Ep. Ind.*. Vol. XXIII, p. 88 ff.) the editor has attempted to construct anew the genealogy and the chronology of the kings of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Dynasty and has put forward some points on which he relies. Many of them have been considered here and have been shown to support our genealogy. One other fact on which he argues is the Tivāradeva synchronism. While discussing the same he says that " he is also mentioned under his Sanskritised name in the Kōṇḍeḍḍa and Nivīna grants of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarājadeva " and citing Dr. N. P. Chakravarti's identification of Dharmarāja with Mādhavarāja Sainyabhīta of the Ganjam plates, the editor proceeds to show his genealogy to be the one that satisfies all considerations. We have considered the other points in their proper places. For this one we need but refer to the recent edition of the Pūri plates of Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta (*Ibid.*, p. 122 ff), and the valuable opinion of Prof. R. G. Basak, the editor, on the point noted above. From it it will be clear that the identification lacks support ; and the suggestion has only been thrown out with hesitation.

THE END OF MORARI RAO OF GOOTY (1776 A.D.)

By V. Raghavendra Rao

The condition of Southern India that followed the fall of Vijayanagara and the dismemberment of the Moghul Empire did not auger well for the continuance of any powerful state. The inevitable rivalries between the Western powers in India in their quest for trade and their siding one or the other of the indigenous rulers in their internecine strife, as suited their interests, accentuated the situation.

Such a situation offered abundant scope for Indians to display their military talents, and carve out a kingdom for every soldier of fortune. Among them Haider Ali of Mysore must be given the foremost place, " with a head to plan and a hand to execute ". In his career of aggression, Haider always found Morari Rao Ghorpade a constant thorn for him on his northern frontiers, and to the bitter end they carried unabated their mutual animosity.[1] Haider had to suffer defeat and disappointment so very often from Morari Rao of Gooty that he never forgot him.

The First Anglo-Maratha War offered Haider his long awaited chance to crush this hated enemy. In his career, he was always aided by fortune, which, his genius turned to his advantage. During this war, Haider supported the senior claimant Raghunatha Rao, in return for the grant to himself of all lands south of the river Tungabhadra.[2] Armed with Raghoba's authority, Haider resolved on capturing Morari Rao and Gooty.

Morari Rao Ghorpade belonged to the family of the Bhonsles, whose brightest gem was Shivaji, Chatrapathi Maharaj, founder of the Maratha Empire. He established

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[1] Wilkes, I, p. 373.

[2] *Peshwas' Dafter*, No. 36, p. 265, Letter No. 308 ; *Modern Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 90.

himself in Gooty about 1746 A.D. and strengthened his capital with good fortifications. Morari Rao was no mere free-lance or free-booter. He was also a good administrator, beloved by his subjects and soldiers alike.[3] The superiority of Morari Rao's army had made deep impression on his European contemporaries. Orme writes that among the Indian armies, the Marathas[4] alone were able to face unflinchingly the terrible and strange monster of European gunnery. No wonder that Morari Rao's help was sought by the English during the siege of Arcot, and Haider found himself often discomfited by this Ghorpade of Gooty. So this god-given chance was not to be thrown away by Haider Ali. He started the siege at Gooty in the beginning of 1776 A.D.[5]

The fortress of Gooty had been famous in history for its impregnability. Its possession was a point of honour with the ancient kings of India. The Ganga King Mārasimha II (973 A.D.) was proud of his conquest of Gooty. After him the Noḷambas, the Hoysaḷas and the Vijayanagara Rulers looked upon it as a key-fortress and a rallying point.[6]

The fortress of Gooty is situated on a steep hillock, further strengthened by human art. Like Chitaldurg in Mysore it is on a cluster of hills, with intervening hollows for water and level areas for cultivation and habitation. Thus by its internal situation, it could defy any enemy for a length of time. "Famine or treachery alone can reduce this fortress."

The siege of Gooty is a monument to Morari Rao's heroism and the studied savagery of Haider Ali. The Maratha chieftain was now in his seventy-second year, but age did not wither the veteran warrior's arduous zeal for war.

On approaching the stronghold, Haider sent a message to the Maratha ruler to surrender the fortress as a condition of his own safety. Morari Rao's reply was characteristic of the

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3 Orme's *History*, Vol. I, p. 363.

4 *Anantapur Dt. Gazetteer*, p. 158.

5 *Marathi Riyāsat*, Vol. I, p. 440 (*Uttara Vibhag*).

6 *Anantapur Dt. Gazetteer*, pp. 155–56.

seasoned and veteran warrior, "you are an upstart naik of foot-soldiers. Though forlorn today, I am the hereditary *Senāpati* of the Maratha Empire. I can never bend my neck to a *parvenu*. I am ready for a trial of valour."[7]

Having sent away his family under the escort of his cousin Siva Rao, the ancestor of the present ruling family of Sandur, Morari Rao prepared to defy Haider Ali's attack. He was fully aware that he could expect no help from the head-quarters at Poona as the Peshwa was engaged in his wars in distant Guzarat and that he was left to himself to face an overwhelming force and certain destruction. Yet nothing could break his spirit.

After a furious cannonade of five weeks, the lower forts and *Petta* fell into Haider's hands, along with considerable booty ; still Morari Rao who had sent for help from Poona would not think of surrender. The siege was again pressed on for two more months. Haider was impatient and opened negotiations with Morari Rao, agreeing to raise the siege in return for an indemnity of twelve lakhs of Rupees. The Maratha chief in response thereto sent into Haider's camp twelve boxes purporting to contain valuables worth twelve lakhs. On opening them Haider bit himself with rage and discomfiture: for four boxes were filled with pebbles, another four contained begging bowls of earth, while the last four were filled with the sandals of dancing girls.[8]

Thereupon, a murderous and determined attack was ordered by Haider on the citadel of Gooty, which was repelled with great slaughter by its undaunted defenders. Fate

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[7] *Marathi Riyāsat*, Vol. I, p. 441. (*Uttara Vibhag*).

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 442.

Cf. Modern Mysore, Vol. I, for a different version.

N.B.—This version of the story is based on the contemporary Marathi letters known as the "Patwardhan Papers", published by the late V. V. Khare and utilised by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai in his monumental work, *Marathi Riyāsat*, 8 Vols. Major Wilkes, Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao and others give a different version of the incidents.

however was against Gooty and Morari Rao. After a siege of four months, water supply ran out in the citadel. The water was to be found just below the citadel and Haider kept a constant fire on the men coming for water. Thus Morari Rao's men were driven to desperation for want of water. Parched with thirst, they clamoured for water and peace. But now Haider would not agree to peace, but demanded unconditional surrender. While driven to extremities, Morari Rao nevertheless refused these humiliating demands but at last he was forcibly and treacherously taken by his own Muslim Killedar and handed over to Haider on April 12, 1776 A.D.

Even as a prisoner, it was feared that the Maratha leader would make a rush on the life and person of the victor ; Haider protected himself with a strong bodyguard, while receiving his vanquished rival, and tortured him to extract information about traces of hidden treasures but when with promethean determination, Morari Rao held on, he was sent in chains, along with the people of his household, to be ultimately imprisoned in Kabaladurg.

During the closing months of 1776 A.D. rumours of an attempted escape by Morari Rao spread but nothing further was heard of him. Whether Morari Rao was killed or whether he died a natural death in prison and when the end came are still unsettled.

Haider's imprisonment and torture of the old man Morari Rao at the advanced age of seventy-two is open to criticism but judged from the standards of even today it is difficult to say how far security and safety of the State has to be sacrificed to purely humanitarian considerations and to sentiment. Morari Rao has even by his suffering left an inspiring name and memory in the hearts of every native of Maharaṣtra.

TRIPURA RAHAŚYA

By M. S. Venkatarama Iyer

(*Continued from Vol. XXIX, No. 4, page* 499)

Chapter XIX

1. After having heard Srī Dattātreya say so, Paraśurāma asked him further regarding the conduct and activities of the *jñānis*.

2–4. "Lord, please tell me clearly how intellects differ according to the stages of *jñāna* (wisdom). Is not wisdom of one kind alone, being simply the revelation of the Self? *Mokṣa* (emancipation) is the simple unfolding of the Self and is alone to be sought. How can it be dependent on stages of development according to mental predispositions? Do the methods also differ in the same way?"

5. Thus asked again, Śrī Datta, the Ocean of Mercy, began to answer his questions.

6. "I shall now tell you the secret of it all. There is no difference in the methods, nor does *jñāna* differ in fact.

7. "The fruits differ according to the grades of accomplishment. The same extends through several births and on its completion, *jñāna* easily unfolds itself.

8. "The degree of effort is according to the stage of incompleteness brought over from past births. However, *jñāna* is eternal and no effort is really needed.

9. "Because it is already there and needs no accomplishment, *jñāna* is pure intelligence, the same as consciousness which is ever self-radiant.

10–13. "What kind of effort can avail to disclose the eternally self-resplendent consciousness? Being coated with a thick crust of infinite *vāsanas* (dispositions), it is not easily perceived. The incrustation must first be soaked in the running stream of mind control and carefully scraped off with the sharp chisel of investigation. Then one must turn the closed urn of crystal quartz—namely, the mind cleaned in the

aforesaid manner—on the grinding wheel of alertness and finally open the lid with the lever of discrimination.

"Lo! the *gem* enclosed within is now reached and that is all!

"Thus you see, Rāma, that all efforts are directed to cleaning up the Augean stables of predispositions.

14–15. "Intellects are the cumulative effects of the predispositions acquired by *karma*. Effort is necessary so long as the predispositions continue to sway the intellect.

"The dispositions are countless but I shall enumerate a few of the most important.

16. "They are roughly classified into three groups, namely, (1) *Aparādha* (fault), (2) *Karma* (action) and (3) *Kāma* (desire).

17–29. The disposition typical of the first group is diffidence in the teachings of the Guru and the holy books which is the surest way to degeneration. Misunderstanding of the teachings, due to assertiveness or pride is a phase of diffidence and stands in the way of realization for learned pandits and others.

"Association with the wise and the study of holy books cannot remove this misunderstanding. They maintain that there is no reality transcending the world; even if there were, it cannot be known; if one claims to know it, it is an illusion of one's mind; for how can knowledge make a person free from misery or help his emancipation? They have many more doubts and wrong notions. So much about the first group.

"There are many more persons who cannot, however well-taught, grasp the teachings; their minds are too much cramped with predispositions to be susceptible to subtle truths. They form the second group—the victims of past actions, unable to enter the stage of contemplation necessary for annihilating the *vāsanas*.

"The third group is the most common, consisting of the victims of desire who are always observed with the sense of duty (*i.e.*, the desire to work for some ends). Desires are too numerous to count, since they rise up endlessly like waves in

the ocean. Even if the stars are numbered, desires are not. The desires of even a single individual are countless—and what about the totality of them? Each desire is too vast to be satisfied, because it is insatiable; too strong to be resisted; and too subtle to be eluded. So the world, being in the grip of this demon, behaves madly and groans with pain and misery, consequent on its own misdeeds. That person who is shielded by desirelessness (dispassion) and safe from the wiles of the monster of desire, can alone rise to happiness.

"A person affected by one or more of the abovesaid three dispositions cannot get at the truth although it is self-evident.

30–33. "Therefore I tell you that all efforts are directed towards the eradication of these innate tendencies.

"The first of them (*i.e.*, fault) comes to an end on respectfully placing one's faith in holy books and the master. The second (*i.e.*, action) may be ended only by divine grace, which may descend on the person in this birth or in any later incarnation. There is no other hope for it. The third must be gradually dealt with by dispassion, discrimination, worship of God, study of holy scriptures, learning from the wise, investigation into the Self and so on.

34. "Efforts to overcome these obstacles are more or less according as the obstacles are greater or lesser.

35–37. "The most important of the qualifications is the desire for emancipation. Nothing can be achieved without it. Study of philosophy and discussions on the subject with others are thoroughly useless, being no better than the study of arts. For the matter of that, one might as well hope for salvation by a study of sculpture and the practice of that art. The study of philosophy in the absence of a longing for salvation, is like dressing up a corpse.

38–40. "Again, Rāma, a casual desire for emancipation is also vain. Such desire often manifests on learning of the magnificence of the emancipated state. It is common to all but never brings about any abiding results. Therefore a passing desire is worthless.

"The desire must be strong and abiding, in order that it may bear fruit. The effects are in proportion to the intensity and duration of the desire.

41–43. "The desire must be accompanied by efforts for the accomplishment of the purpose. Then only will there be concerted effort. Just as a man scalded by fire runs immediately in search of soothing unguents and does not waste his time in other pursuits, so also must the aspirant run after emancipation to the exclusion of all other pursuits. Such an effort is fruitful and is preceded by indifference to all other attainments.

44–46. "Starting by discarding pleasures as being impediments to progress he develops dispassion and then the desire for emancipation, which grows in strength. This makes a man engage in the right efforts in which he becomes thoroughly engrossed. After these stages are passed, the most unique consummation takes place."

When Dattātreya finished, Paraśurāma was completely bewildered and asked him further:

47–49. "Lord, You said earlier that association with the wise, divine grace and dispassion are the prime factors for attaining the highest aim of life. Please tell me which is the most essential and how it can be accomplished. For nothing happens without an antecedent cause. This is certain. What is the root cause of the fundamental requisite? Or is it only accidental?"

50. Thus asked, Dattātreya answered him as follows:—

"I shall tell you the root-cause of it all. Listen!

51–61. "Her Transcendental Majesty, the Absolute Consciousness being self-contained, originally pictured the whole universe in Her being, like images in a mirror. She took on the individuality, named *Hiraṇyagarbha* (the Creator) and considering the predispositions of the egos enclosed in that egg (*Hiraṇyagarbha*), She unfolded the Scriptures—the reservoir of sublime truths—for the fulfilment of desires. Since the embryonic individuals were full of unfulfilled desires *Hiraṇyagarbha* began to think out the means of their fulfilment. He elaborated a scheme of cause and effect, of actions

and fruits, and consequently the individuals born later on to revolve in that wheel of cause and effect. They take different shapes and are placed in different environments consistently with their predispositions. After passing through innumerable species, the individual evolves as a human being owing to the merit he has accumulated. At first he will take to selfish pursuits. With growing desire, he will seek the unobstructed fulfilment of mighty ambitions. But in due course the methods advocated in holy books will be adopted. Failures are inevitable everywhere. Disappointments result. Expert advice is sought. Such advice will be forthcoming only from a man living in unbroken beatitude. Such a sage will, in due course, initiate the seeker in divine magnificence. The initiate's accumulated merits, reinforced by association with the wise and by divine grace, make him persist in the course, and gradually take him step by step to the highest pinnacle of happiness.

62–64. "Now you see how association with the wise is said to be the root-cause of all that is good. This happens partly through the accumulated merits of the person and partly through his unselfish devotion to God, but always as if by accident like a fruit which has suddenly fallen from the void. Therefore the goal of life being dependent on so many causes, there is variety in its attainment, either according to the intellect or the predispositions of the person. The state of the *jñāni* also differs, according as his efforts have been greater or less.

65–66. "Proportionately slight effort is enough for erasing slight *vāsanas*. He whose mind has been made pure by good deeds in successive past incarnations, gains supreme results quite out of proportion to the little effort he may make (as with Janaka).

67–68. "The glimpse of *jñāna* (realisation) gained by one whose mind is crowded with dense *vāsanas* accumulated in past incarnations, does not suffice to over-rise one's deep-rooted ignorance. Such a one is obliged to practise *samādhi* (*nididhayasana* or control of mind and contemplation) in successive births for effective and final realisation.

"Thus there are seen to be different classes of sages.

69. "O Scion of Bhṛgu's lineage! there are differences in states of *jñāna* characterised by the aspects and attitudes of intellect and the varieties in its activities.

70–77. "Such differences are quite obvious in *Brahma* (the Creator), Viṣṇu (the Preserver) and Śiva (the Destroyer) who are *jñānis* by nature. That does not mean that *jñāna* (realisation) admits of variety. These attitudes depend on their *vāsanas* (dispositions) and environments. They are Lords of the universe and all-knowing. Their *jñāna* is pure and uncontaminated by what they do. Whether a *jñāni* is fair or dark in complexion, his *jñāna* neither shares these qualities nor the qualities of the mind. See the difference in the three sons of Atri, namely, Dūrvāsa (said to be of the aspect of Śiva and reputed to be exceedingly irritable), Candra (the moon, of the aspect of Brahma and reputed to be the husband of the twenty-seven constellations who are in their turn daughters of Dakṣa) and myself (Dattātreya, of the aspect of Śrīman Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, reputed to be the ideal of saints, roaming nude in the forests, etc.). Vaṣiṣhta (one of the geratest ṛṣis, well-known as the family preceptor of the Solar line of kings) never fails in the strictest adherence to duty as prescribed by the Scriptures; whereas, Sanaka, Sananda, Sanatsujāta and Sanatkumāra (four sons born of Brahma's volition and instructed by Nārada) are types of ascetics totally indifferent to any action including religious rites; Nārada is the ideal of *bhakti* (devotion to God); Bhārgava (Śukra, the well-known preceptor of Asuras, who incessantly fight against the Gods) supports the enemies of the gods whereas the equally great sage Bṛhaspati (Jupiter, the preceptor of Gods) supports the Gods against their enemies; Vyāsa is ever busy codifying the Vedas, and is propagating their truth in the shape of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas* and the *Upapurāṇas*; Janaka famous as the ascetic-king; Bharata looking like an idiot; and many others.

[*Note.*—Bharata was a great king who, according to the custom of the great Kṣatriya emperors, abdicated his throne

in favour of his son when he attained his majority and retired into the forest to do penance. On one occasion, hearing the roar of a lion, a deer in an advanced state of pregnancy took fright and leapt across the stream. Her womb was disturbed and she landed on the other shore with her young one in placenta and dropped dead. The royal hermit took pity on the little thing, washed it, took it in his hands and returned to the hermitage. The baby-deer was carefully tended and remained always by its master's side. The hermit and the deer grew fond of each other.

After some time, the hermit knew that he was dying and became anxious about the safety of the deer in the forest after his own death. He died with that thought and consequently re-incarnated as a deer. Being a sage with pious disposition, the reincarnate deer was placed in a holy environment, retaining knowledge of its past. So it did not associate with its species but remained close to a hermitage listening to the chant of the Vedas and discussions on philosophy. When it died it was reborn as a boy in a pious Brahmin family.

The parents died while he was still young. The boy was always helping others but never took to any definite work. He was healthy, strong and free from care. The neighbourhood put him down as an idiot, and so he appeared as he loafed about.

One night, the ruling chief of Savvīra, passed in a palanquin; he was in haste to reach a renowned sage who lived in another province. One of his bearers took ill on the way; so his men looked about for a substitute; on finding this Brahmin boy 'idiot', they impressed him for the work; and he took his place as a bearer of the palanquin.

The chief was irrittaed at the slow pace of the bearers and reprimanded them. Even after repeated warnings, the pace continued to be slow and the chief was wild with rage. He alighted from the palanquin and found the new recruit to be the culprit who was thrashed and ordered to hasten.

Still there was no improvement and the chief chided him again, but could make no impression on the 'idiot'. The

chief was exasperated, got down and remonstrated with him. But he received a reply which astonished him and further conversation convinced the chief of the idiot's greatness. So the chief became the disciple of Bharata, the idiot.]

"There are so many others with individual characteristics, such as Chyavana, Yāgñyavalkya, Visvāmitra, etc. The secret is this.

[*Note.—Chyavana*: A king once went with the royal family and retinue for a pleasure trip into a forest which was famous as the habitation of a remarkable sage Chyavana by name. The young princess was playing with her companion. She came across what looked like an ant-hill and put in a spike into one of its holes. Blood came out. She took fright, and returned to the elder members of the family, but did not disclose her prank to any of them.

When they had all returned home the king and many others fell ill. They suspected some involuntary evil had been perpetrated on Chyavana. When an envoy arrived in the forest praying for his blessings, the sage was found hurt in the eyes and he sent word to the king as follows:—

"Your daughter hurt my eyes by driving a spike into the ant-hill which had grown over me while I was in *Samādhi*. I am now old and helpless. Send the mischief maker here to make amends for her mischief by becoming my helpmate."

When the envoy communicated the message to the king, he spoke to the princess, who readily acceded to the wishes of the saint. She lived in the forest with her aged consort and carefully attended to his comforts. She used to bring water from a neighbouring spring. One day the twin gods, known as Aśvins, came there and admiring her loyalty to her aged husband, revealed themselves to her and offered to rejuvenate her ancient husband. She took her husband to the spring and awaited the miracle. They asked the saint to dive into the water. They too dived simultaneously. All three emerged like to one another. The girl was asked to pick out her husband. She prayed to God and was thus enabled to identify him. The saint promised in return to include the

twin benefactors among the Gods eligible for sacrificial propitiation. He invited his father-in-law to arrange for a sacrifice and Chyavana called on the names of the Aśvins. Indra—the chief of the Gods—was angry and threatened to spoil the sacrifice if innovations of the kind contemplated by Chyavana, were introduced. Chyavana easily incapacitated Indra by virtue of his penance and kept his promise to his benefactors. In the meantime, Indra apologised, and was pardoned and restored to his former state.

Yāgñyavalkya is the sage of sages mentioned in *Brihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. *Viśvāmitra* is too well known to be described here. He was the grand-uncle of Paraśurāma.]

79. "Of the three typical *vāsanas* mentioned that one of action is the most potent and is said to be ignorance.

80–83. "Those are the best who are free from all of the *vāsanas*, and particularly from the least trace of that of action. If free from the fault of mistrust of the teachings of the master, the *vāsana* due to desire, which is not a very serious obstruction to realisation, is destroyed by the practice of contemplation. Dispassion need not be very marked in this case. Such people need not repeatedly engage in the study of Scriptures or the receiving of instructions from the Master, but straightway pass into meditation and fall into *samādhi*, the consummation of the highest good. They live evermore as *Jīvanmuktas* (emancipated even while alive).

84–86. "Sages with subtle and clear intellect have not considered it worth while to eradicate their desire, etc., by forcing other thoughts to take their place *because desires do not obstruct realisation*. Therefore their desires continue to manifest even after realisation as before it. Neither are they tainted by such *vāsanas*. They are said to be emancipated and diverse-minded. They are also reputed to be the best class of *jñānis*.

87–90. "Rāma, he whose mind clings to the ignorance of the necessity of work cannot hope for realisation even if Śiva offers to instruct him. Similarly also the person who has the fault of marked indifference to or misunderstanding

of the teachings, cannot attain. On the other hand, a man only slightly affected by these two *vāsanas*, and much more so by desires or ambitions, will by repeated hearing of the holy truth, discussion of the same, and contemrlation on it, surely reach the goal through only with considerable difficulty and after a long lapse of time. Such a sage's activities will be small because he is entirely engrossed in his efforts for realisation.

Note.—His activities will be confined to the indispensable necessities of life.

91. "A sage of this class has by his long practice and rigorous discipline controlled his mind so well that predispositions are totally eradicated and the mind is as if dead. He belongs to the middle class in the scheme of classification of sages and is said to be a sage without mind.

92–94. "The last class and the least among the sages are those whose practice and discipline are not perfect enough to destroy mental predispositions. Their minds are still active and the sages are said to be associated with their minds. They are barely *jñānis* and not *jīvanmuktas* as are the other two classes. They appear to share the pleasures and pains of life like any other man and will continue to do so till the end of their lives. They will be emancipated after death.

95–96. "*Prārabdha* (or past *karmas*) is totally powerless with the middle class, who have destroyed their minds by continued practice.

"The mind is the soil in which the seed namely *prārabdha* sprouts (into pleasures and pains of life). If the soil is barren, the seed loses its sprouting power by long storage, and becomes useless.

97–103. "There are men in the world who can carefully attend to different functions at the same time and are famous as extraordinarily skilful; again some people attend to work as they are walking and conversing; while a teacher has an eye upon each student in the class-room and exercises control over them all; or you yourself knew *Kārtavīryārjuna*, who wielded different weapons in his thousand hands and fought

with you using all of them skilfully and simultaneously. In all these cases, a single mind assumes different shapes to suit the different functions at the same time. Similarly the mind of the best among *jñānis* is only the Self and yet manifests as all without suffering any change in its eternal blissful nature as the Self. They are therefore many-minded.

Note.—Kārtavīryārjuna was the chief of the Haihayas who were the sworn enemies of Paraśurāma. He was himself a devotee of Śrī Dattātreya and had received the most wonderful boon from his Master, namely, that his name should be transmitted to posterity as that of an ideal king unparalleled in legend or history. His reign was indeed remarkable and his prowess was unequalled, much less excelled. Still, as destiny would have it, he was challenged by Paraśurāma and killed in battle.

104–105. "The *prārabdha* of *jñānis* is still active and sprouts in the mind but only to be burnt up by the steady flame of *jñāna*. Pleasure or pain is due to the dwelling of the mind on occurrences. But if these are scorched at their source, how can there be pain or pleasure?

106–108. "*Jñānis* of the highest order, however, are seen to be active because they voluntarily bring out the *vāsanas* from the depth of the mind and allow them to run out. Their action is similar to that of a father sporting with his child, moving its dolls, laughing at the imagined success of one doll over another, and appearing to grieve over the injury to another, and so on; or like a man showing sympathy for his neighbour on the occasion of a gain or loss.

109–112. "The *vāsanas* not inimical to realisation are not weeded out by the best class of *jñānis* because they cannot seek new ones to crowd the old out. Therefore the old ones continue until they are exhausted and thus you find among them some highly irritable, some lustful and others pious and dutiful, and so on.

"Now the lowest *order* of *jñānis* still under the influence of their minds know that there is no truth in the objective universe. Their *samādhi* is not different from that of the rest.

113. "What is *samādhi*? *Samādhi* is being aware of the Self, and nothing else—that is to say—it should not be confounded with the *Nirvikalpa* (undifferentiated) state, for this state is very common and frequent as has been pointed out in the case of momentary *samādhis*.

114–115. "Every one is experiencing the *Nirvikalpa* state, though unknowingly. But what is the use of such unrecognised *samādhis*? A similar state becomes possible to the *hatha yogis* also. This experience alone does not confer any lasting benefit. But one may apply the experience to the practical affairs of life. *Samādhi* can only be such and such alone. (*Sahaja samādhi* is meant here.)

[*Commentary.*—*Samādhi*: Aspirants may be *jñāna yogis* or *hatha yogis*. The former learn the truth from the scriptures and a Guru: cogitate and understand it clearly. Later they contemplate the truth and gain *samādhi*.

The wise say that *samādhi* is the control resulting from the application of the experienced truth (*i.e.*, the awareness of the Self) to the practical affairs of life. This *samādhi* is possible only for *jñāna yogis*.

The *hatha yogis* are of two kinds: the one intent on eliminating all perturbations of the mind, starts with the elimination of the non-self and gradually of all mental vacillations. This requires very long and determined practice which becomes his second nature and the *yogi* remains perfectly unagitated. The other practises the six preliminary exercises and then controls the breath (*Prāṇāyāma*) until he can make the air enter the *Suṣumna nādi*. Since the earlier effort is considerable owing to control of breath, there is a heavy strain which is suddenly relieved by the entry of air in *Suṣumna*. The resulting happiness is comparable to that of a man suddenly relieved of a pressing load on his back. His mind is similar to that of a man in a swoon or a state of intoxication. Both classes of *hatha yogis* experience a happiness similar to that of deep slumber.

A *jñāna yogi*, on the other hand, has a theoretical knowledge of the Self, for he has heard it from the Guru and

learnt it from the *Śāstras*, and has further cogitated upon the teachings. Therefore, the veil of ignorance is drawn off from him even before the consummation of *samādhi*. The substratum of consciousness free from thoughts of external phenomena is distinguished by him like a mirror reflecting images. Furthermore in the earlier stage of *samādhi*, he is capable of remaining aware as absolute consciousness quite free from all blemishes of thought.]

"Whereas a *hatha yogi* cannot remain in such a state. In the *jñāni's samādhi*, both the veil of ignorance and perturbation of thoughts are removed. In the *hatha yogi's samādhi*, though the Self is *naturally* free from the two obstacles, yet it remains hidden by the veil of ignorance. The same is torn off by the *jñāni* in the process of his contemplation.

"If asked what difference there is between the *samādhi* of a *hatha yogi* and sleep, it must be said that the mind overpowered by deep ignorance is covered by dense darkness in sleep whereas the mind being associated with *satva* (quality of brightness) acts in *samādhi* as a thin veil for the self-effulgent principle. The Self may be compared to the Sun obstructed by dark and dense clouds in sleep, and by light mist in *samādhi*. For a *jñāni*, the Self shines in its full effulgence like the Sun unobstructed in the heavens.

"This is how the sages describe *samādhi*."

116–117. (Having spoken of the *jñāni's samādhi* as approved by the sages, Dattātreya proceeds to prove its unbroken nature.) "What is *samādhi*? *Samādhi* is absolute knowledge uncontaminated by objects. Such is the state of the best *jñānis* even when they take part in the affairs of the world.

"The blue colour of the sky is known to be an unreal phenomenon and yet it appears the same to both the knowing and the unknowing, but with this difference that the one is misled by the appearance and the other is not.

118. "Just as the false perception does not mislead the man who knows, so also all that is perceived which is known to the wise to be false will never mislead them.

119. " Since the middle class of *jñānis* have already destroyed their minds, there are no objects for them. Their state is known as the supramental one.

120. " The mind is agitated when it assumes the shape of those objects which it mistakes for real; and unagitated otherwise. Therefore the latter state alone is only supramental.

Note.—The mind of the highest order of *jñānis* though associated with objects, knows them to be unreal and therefore is not agitated as is the case with the ignorant.

121. " Since a *jñāni* of the highest order can engage in several actions at the same time and yet remain unaffected, he is always many-minded and yet remains in unbroken *samādhi*. His is absolute knowledge free from objects.

" I have now told you all that you want to know."

Thus ends the Chapter XIX on the different states of *jñānis* in *Tripura Rahaśya*.

SOME PARTICULARS RELATING TO TIPPO SULTAN, HIS REVENUE, ESTABLISHMENT OF TROOPS, ETC., ETC.

*(Taken from the information of one of Tippo's Officers)**

Madras, 1st December 1790

BY DR. K. N. V. SASTRI, M.A., PH.D.

His Age and Constitution

HE is about 43 years of age, his constitution is much impaired, he is subject to two disorders; the frequent returns of which, obliges him to take medicine daily.

His Size and Figure

He is five feet, eight to nine inches high, is now rather inclining to fat, although a few years since he was very thin; his face is round, with large full eyes, and there is much animation and fire in his countenance; he wears whiskers but no beard; he is very active, and sometimes takes long walks.

His Family

He has eleven children of whom only two are in marriage; the elder, a girl of 7 years, the younger, a boy of 4 years. The eldest of his natural children is a girl of 17 years, the second, a son of 15 years, he is a great favourite, and accompanies his father upon all occasions, his name is Gulam Haider; another son Abdul Khalak is 10 years old.

His Disposition

His disposition is naturally cruel, his temper is passionate, and revengeful; and he is prone to be abusive, and his words are false and hypocritical as to suit his purposes.

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* This account was found by Dr. K. N. V. Sastri in Dalrymple's *Oriental Repertory*, 1793, Vol. I, pp. 229, et. seq. Some allowance must be made for discontent in what is reported unfavourable of Tippo; but much of this character cannot be suspected to be misrepresented.

His Policy

His policy thus far differing widely from his father, has been ruinous to his revenues, as well as hurtful to his Government. He professes himself Naib to one of the *twelve Prophets*, who, the Mahomedans believe, are yet to come; and he persecutes all other Castes, forcing numbers to become Musselmen. He is jealous of, and prejudiced against, his father's favourites; most of whom he has removed from their Offices; giving to some lesser appointments: when compared to his father, his understanding and judgment is supposed to be inferior, he is esteemed as a good soldier, but a less skilful General, and he is wanting in that great resource, which his father so eminently displayed in all cases of danger. His father discriminated Merit, rewarded it liberally, and punished Guilt with the utmost rigour of a despot; he gives little encouragement, or reward, and he punishes more from the influence of Passion and Prejudice, than from any Attention to Justice. His father was assiduous in gaining the attachment of his Army, he is rather negligent of it, and being very parsimonious, he is led to impose upon his Troops, whenever opportunities offer; he sometimes retains their pay, for several months, and has his own Soucars to lend him money at an enormous Interest, which is stopped when the pay is issued.

His Personal Property, on His Father's Death

On Tippo's return to Seringapatam, after the conclusion of the War with the English, he took an inventory of his Property, of every kind, which, in Treasure and various other articles, on valuation stood at 20 *crores of Pagodas*. In the Treasury *Bahaduri Pagodas* 4 *Rupees* each, 5 *crores*; the remaining 15 crores was in jewels, valuable clothes, etc., and in

Elephants	700
Camels	6,000
Horses	11,000
Bullocks and Cows	400,000
Buffaloes	100,000
Sheep	600,000

Firelocks	..	..	..	..	300,000
Matchlocks	..	..	..	..	300,000
Swords and Cresses		..	..	..	200,000
Guns in Seringapatam, of different calibres, a few of which are Malabar			..	..	1,000
Guns in other forts		..	..	..	1,000

The Treasures and other moveable property, are now kept entirely at Seringapatam ; formerly some part of it was kept in Biddinore, and it is said, that at the time of General Mathews' taking it, there was a treasure of 25 *Lacs of Pagodas*, besides 4 crores of Pagodas value, in Gold, Silver, etc., etc., etc.

His Revenues on His Father's Death, and which were Raised to that Amount about Five Years Before

The full collections amounted to five crores and ninety-two lacs of Cunteary Pagodas of three rupees each, the expenses of *Sebundy*, etc., one and a half crore ; deficiencies in the collections from various causes which lay over 60 lacs ; for building and repairing Forts, making Docks, and Building Ships, one crore and eighty-two lacs ; paid into the Treasury, two crores, total 5 crores and 92 lacs. Since Tippo resumed the Government, the revenues have diminished greatly in consequence of his having adopted a different policy from his father ; he removed from the *Hamauldaries* all the *Brahmims* and others of the Hindoo caste who well versed in the country business and put Mussalmen in their places ; he forbid the sale of Arrack and Ganja throughout his Dominions, which had produced a very considerable revenue to the Circar. He removed from the Biddinore and Soanda countrys about seventy thousand Christian inhabitants who were the cultivators of the Ground by which the revenues of these countrys sustained a considerable loss. The Biddinore Country alone yielded to Heydar a nett revenue of 18 lacs of Pagodas, it has since fallen to 10 lacs ; from and other causes, arising from bad management, Tippo's revenues have been greatly diminished ; in so much his nett revenue did not exceed after the foregoing deductions, the first year, One and a half Crore, instead of two, as in his father's time, and

every succeeding year only one Crore. He has not thrown any money into the Standing Treasury, since his Government, and he has drawn from it fifty lacs of Pagodas.

Provisions Thrown into the Forts, and the Appointment of Killedars

Since the conclusion of the late War, he has thrown into Seringapatam, provisions for 100,000 men for 12 months; and into Bangalore, provisions for 12,000 men for 12 months; and into his other Forts, provisions in proportion to their strength and importance; and as a precaution to prevent treachery he has appointed to some of his principal Forts six Killedars to others three; to others two, and such as are not intended for defence have only one. Although all these are commonly called Killedars yet properly speaking there is but one Killedar, the others go under the denomination of *Munshour* (or Councillors). The first is *Buckshy* or Commander of the Sepoys, the second *Buckshy* of the Peons, the third *Buckshy* of the *Commatys* and Artificers, the fourth *Darogha* in charge of the works, the fifth *Darogha* for superintending the making of Bricks and Chunam. When Tippo writes he addresses the Killedar and Manshuraun, and when they write to him it is in like manner from the Killedar and Manshuraun, they have all their respective orders from the Circar, and each is at liberty to detect the other, if anything is done contrary to order.

The Establishment of His Forces

Cavalry		
His own Stables, Horse for Service ..	7,000	
Hired Horse	12,000	19,000
Artillery		
Goullandauze	2,000	
Lascars for the Guns	8,000	
		10,000
European Artillery, 2 Companys		30
Infantry		
Assadoulla or Chelys from the Carnatic ..	2,500	
Do. from Chitaldrug	500	

Ahmuddy, or Christians from Biddinore ..	1,500	
Mahomeady, or Chelys, from Coorg ..	1,500	
Dismounted Troopers	8,000	
Sepoys	55,000	
		69,000
Fighting Peons	40,000	
Rocket men	5,000	
		45,000
Commattys	10,000	
Peons for carrying Dooleys, and working at the roads with the Commattys	60,000	
		70,000
2 Rissallas of Topasses, one of them having a Company of Europeans, attached to it, of 100 strong		900
Lally's Party		
European Cavalry, 1 Troop	50	
Do. Infantry intermixed with Country-born	180	
Topasses	150	
Sepoys	250	
		630

With one party to fix Pounder.

Miscellaneous

Tippo has made great alterations in the establishment of his Troops; his Father was partial to his Cavalry, and kept up a much larger body than he does, he is partial to his Infantry, and has made great augmentations to them; 5,000 of his own stable horse are formal and trained regularly, and 2,000 are Mogul Horse; and there are not above three thousand of the hired horse that can be called good cavalry, the rest are more of the plundering kind; he has adopted Persian terms for the words of Command, which were heretofore given partly in English, and partly in French; he has also altered the terms for the formation of the Troops. In the Cavalry a Troop (of 95 strong) is called a *Yews.* The *Sibedar*, a *Yewsdar*; a *Jemidar*, *Surkele*, a Regiment (of 4 *Yews*) is called a *Tub*; the Commandant, *Tubdar*, a *Mowkoub* is composed of 4 *Tubs*; the

Commander, *Mowkoubdar*; the Troopers are called *Osskur.* In the Infantry, a Company (of 125 strong) is called a *Jowk*; the Sibedar, *Jowkdar*; a Jemidar, *Surkele*; a Battalion of 4 *Jowks* is called a *Rissalla*; the *Sepoys* are called *Jish*; a Centinel is called *Ezuddar*; the Rounds *Kirwan*; the Parole, *Nishane*; a Guard *Munkulla*, each Tub has two *Galloperguns*, 3 Pounders, and each *Rassalla* has two 6 Pounders. A Koushoun or *Legion*, is composed of one *Tub* of *Cavalry*, 4 *Rissallas* of *Infantry*, and two Eighteen Pounders; the *Cavalry Gallopers* are drawn by *Mules*, and all the *Draught Cattle* belong to the Circar. Each *Koushon* has an *Elephant* attached to it, which is harnessed like a horse, to assist the *Guns* through difficulties. The *Cavalry and Infantry* are clothed alike in a stripped blue and white Cotton Stuff, of Country Manufacture; the *Artillary* have also a Cotton Stuff, white ground with large round blue spots.

The Manner of his Passing Time in Camp

He rises sometimes at Seven O'Clock, but more commonly at Eight or Nine in the morning; on halting days, washes and takes Medicine, the *Barber* then begins to shave him, during which the Head Aukbar *Neoise*, or *News* writer, comes in with the letters, that have arrived by the Tappauls, and relates the *News* of the different Countrys, as he has received it. The Officer, Commanding his Guard, then comes in, and makes his report, after which the Adjutants of Corps, come and make a report of their respective Corps About 12 O'Clock he goes to dinner, which is over in about an hour, he then holds his Durbar, and transacts all business, Civil and Military, until 5 O'Clock, he then gives out the Parole, which he takes from the Planets, or *Signs* of the *Zodiac*, writing it himself in *Book*, which is deposited with his own Guard; where the Adjutant-Generals (for each Cuthchrie has an Adjutant-General) come and take it, after which he lays down, and sleeps about an hour, rises and makes his second meal. The *Mounchys*, or *Secretaries* are called in, they read the letters, that have been received during the day, and he gives his orders for answering them; all this done, and the letters prepared for despatch,

about two or three in the morning he goes to rest. On marching days where there is no immediate Excigency, the Army seldom moves before 8 O'Clock after Tippo has taken his breakfast; he goes in his *Palanquin*, on the March, and if anything particular occurs, he immediately mounts his horse; the order of march is varied according to circumstances, during his late War against the Maharattas as they were greatly superior to him in Cavalry, his *Infantry* marched in four *Columns* thus:

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with the Cavalry and Baggage in Centre, he encamps in a square; his *Infantry and Guns* occupying the *four faces*, the Cavalry within the square; each face has an open street, in its *centre with a bazaar*. A *Koushoun* forms the *Picquet* of the *front face*, and is advanced from *twelve to fifteen hundred paces*, a Rissalla is advanced from it about 500 *paces*; each of the other faces has a Rissalla advanced from it about *five hundred paces*, and on the march all these Picquets form the *advance* and *Rear Guards*, and flanking Guards to the *Columns*. The *Infantry* are disencumbered of their baggage on the March, *Bullocks* being allowed by the Circar for carrying it.

The Army marches, in common, about 4 Coss Sultany; (The Sultany Coss has been established by Tippo, and the Principal roads through his Dominions have three trees, of particular kinds, planted on one side to mark the Coss. The Carnatic Coss is about 2½ miles the Cunteary, or old Mysore Coss, is about 3 miles; the Sultany Coss is about 4 miles.) In expedition the whole Army marches about 6 or 7 Coss Sultany, but a body of Horse only, in order to make a push have gone, in little more than a day and a night, a very considerable distance. During the late war in the Carnatic, Hyder marched, with a body of Horse, from Oombly, near Trichinopoly, to Chillimbrum in 27 hours; he moved off at 3 O'Clock in the morning and at 7 O'Clock in the next morning, he reached Chillimbrum, a distance of about 7 Gow or 28 Coss, equal to 70 miles; the third day his *Infantry* and *Guns* came up. At

the commencement of Tippo's late war against the Mahrattas, he lay with this Army at *Perour*, in the Raidurg Country, marching at 3 O'Clock in the morning he arrived, at 7 O'Clock the next morning, at *Kunchungood*, near *Adoni*, and attacked a body of 4,000 *Mahratta Plunderers*.

Harcarrahs and Intelligence

He keeps in his pay 300 Harcarrahs, at 3 Pagodas a month each such as prove themselves most active, and clever, are employed for intelligence; besides these, he stations *News Writers* in such *Principal* places as he thinks necessary, and these are instructed to write in the style of the Soucars, and the Intelligence required is made applicable to the Coins, etc., treated of, so that if a letter is intercepted, no discovery is made, should there be anything that cannot be so introduced, it is given verbally to the bearer of the Letter. Tippo seldom rewards with presents and when he does, they are very trifling, perhaps not more than five rupees.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS

New Series—No. I

On a Few Arab Weather-Prognostics from the Appearance of Certain Species of Birds

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

Several races of people, living in the ancient world, drew omens and prognostics from the appearance and flight of different species of birds. The practice of *augury* was prevalent among the ancient Romans who drew omens from the flight of birds. The word "*augury*" is derived from the Latin word *avis*, which means "a bird". The professional bird-seers or practitioners of the art of augury were denominated *auspex.* The memory of this ancient Roman practice is still preserved in the English word "*auspices*". In the ancient classics, there are many references to the dividing powers of the seers—"the feeder of the oracular birds".

The ancient Greeks also drew a weather-prognostic from the appearance of kites and looked upon the coming of these birds as an omen which betokened the advent of the spring-season. On this point, Miss Marian Rolfe Cox says:—"The Greeks bowed to the kites. Aristophanes, in his play of "*The Birds*", in which he burlesques the national mythology, makes Peisthetairus say that, when the kite was ruler and king over the Greeks, he first taught the people to prostrate themselves before kites. *The Scholiast explains that the kites appearing betokened the coming of spring, wherefore the Greeks bowed the knee to them.*"[1]

Similarly, many modern races of people draw omens and weather-prognostics from the appearance of birds. In England, whenever a wagtail appears, the peasantry in the countryside bow to it. Although Miss M. R. Cox does not

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[1] *Vide An Introduction to Folk-lore.* By M. R. Cox; New and Enlarged Edition, pp. 26–27. London: David Nutt, 1897.

say in so many words why the English peasantry do this act of obeisance to the wagtail, I am inclined to believe that, very likely, they looked upon this bird as a harbinger of favourable weather.

The common Pariah Kite (*Milvus govinda*) abounds in Bengal. Whenever this bird, accompanied by a few companions, appear and utter a peculiar kind of call-note which resembles a shrill shrieking, the Bengali Hindus believe that this prognosticates the speedy coming of a rain-storm.

The Arabs are a people belonging to the Semitic race and profess the Muhammadan religion. They also draw prognostics about the changes of seasons and weather from the appearance of certain species of birds. A few of these weather-prognostics are given below :—

1. "The year of the starling, plough the uncultivated land." "The year of the starling" is a year in which these birds are to be found in large numbers. The Arab peasantry, therefore, believe that the appearance of the starlings in large flocks portends that the year will be a good and fruitful one, that is to say, there will be bumper crops during that year.

2. "The year of the lapwing, sell your bed and buy a cover." "The year of the lapwing," that is to say, the year in which the lapwings appear in large flocks, is popularly believed by the Arab peasantry to prognosticate a year of scarcity in which everything will be so dear that the poverty-stricken peasants will be compelled to sell their household effects and be content with the bare necessities of life.

3. "When the storks pass in the spring, it will rain." Most likely, the storks do not like wet weather and come to know by the exercise of their instinct when it will rain. Therefore, the birds leave the dwelling land of the Arabs and migrate to drier regions.[2]

From an analysis of the aforementioned Arab weather-prognostics, I find that—

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[2] *Vide* the article on "*Arab Weather Prognostics,*" by Professor E. Robertson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* for April 1930, p. 387.

(*a*) The Arab peasants are careful observers of the movements of the familiar birds of their countryside, as also of the changes of weather.

(*b*) They also possess an enquiring turn of mind and appear to be ever ready to find out the causes which bring about the changes in the weather-conditions. They are also keen about noting the events which are followed by changed weather or season.

(*c*) The idea underlying the aforementioned weather-prognostics is based on a cardinal principle of savage philosophy. The mind of the savage is incapable of drawing a line of demarcation between cause and effect. Should any mishap or trouble befall him, he, innocent as he is of the power of inductive reasoning, will at once jump to the conclusion that it has been caused by some event which had happened just before it overtook him, or simultaneously with the former. This mode of reasoning is not only characteristic of the savage mind, but is also resorted to by the civilised peoples. It is known in logic as *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc* (*After this, therefore, on account of this*), or the fallacious method of argument according to which the mere precedence of an event is taken to be the cause of an effect happening just afterwards. As for example, if it be said of a man who dies after taking a hearty dinner, "he died immediately after eating his dinner, therefore *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, the dinner was the cause of his death."

The literature of travel teems with examples of this *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc* method of reasoning, characteristic of the savage mind. We find that travellers, while sojourning among peoples in a low plane of culture, have done some act quite innocently. But, as a result of their ignorance of inductive reasoning, the latter have attributed to this act or to the very fact of the former's presence among them, the happening of some misfortune or tribulation which might have been troubling them at that time. Sometimes the mishap is ascribed by them even to some queer-looking article forming part and parcel of the traveller's equipment. Sometimes

these things are believed by them to rouse the wrath of their deities.[3]

The Arab peasants observed that, on several occasions, the appearance of large flocks of starling was succeeded by a year of bumper crops, the coming of lapwings in large numbers was followed by a time of scarcity and that the migration of storks was followed by rainy weather. Therefore, in accordance with the afore-described *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc* mode of reasoning, they have arrived at the conclusions which are embodied in the aforementioned weather-prognostics.

(*d*) The starling, referred to in the aforementioned weather-prognostic, is very probably the *Sturnus vulgaris* which is commonly found throughout Northern Europe, Asia and also in India. It assembles in large flocks in autumn for the purpose of roosting in reed-beds. These flocks, when on the wing, are very pretty-looking. Their simultaneous turns in the air are very remarkable. The song of the male birds of this species is cheerful and varied, if not very beautiful. Allied species of this bird are found in the Mediterranean region, Kashmir, Persia and Armenia.

(*e*) The lapwing, mentioned therein, is also known as the Green Plover or Peewit. Its zoological name is *Vanellas vanellus*. It is a common bird of the plover family and breeds throughout the temperate Old World. It is migratory in the northern part of its habitat. It visits North Africa and India during the winter. The eggs of this bird are highly esteemed as food and known as the "plover's eggs" of commerce.

(*f*) The stork, referred to in the aforementioned Arab weather-prognostic is very likely the *Ciconia alba* which is a well-known bird, and frequents Asia Minor, the Caucasus, Persia and Turkestan. In every country which is visited by this bird, the people thereof welcome it as a cherished guest. There is a popular belief current in every one of those countries

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[3] For a fuller discussion of this subject see my article on: "*On a Survival of Savage Philosophy,*" in the *Hindusthan Review* (published from Allahabad) for August 1918, pp. 121–25.

that this bird is a bringer of good luck to the house to which it attaches itself. To suit its convenience, a stage of some kind, often a cart-wheel, is set up in many places. During the cold winter, the Asiatic storks migrate to India. Another allied species is the Black Stork (*Ciconia nigra*) which has pretty nearly the same range as *C. alba*.

I have already shown in a previous paper (see my *Studies in Bird-Myths—No. XV*, published in Vol. XVII, No. 4, pp. 330-32 of this *Journal*) that both the aforementioned species of storks (*C. alba* and *C. nigra*) play an important part in the legends connected with the Crucification of Jesus Christ.

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS

New Series—No. I

On a Few Animistic Beliefs about Three Bengal Plants

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

ANIMISM is the belief in spiritual beings which include souls, spirits and ghosts. This animistic belief enters largely into the folklore about plants. In this paper, I shall deal with this belief so far as it relates to three well-known plants of Bengal.

I

The first of these plants is the well-known *Ghentu Phul* (*Clerodendron infortunatum*) which belongs to the Order *Verbenaceæ*. It is an erect shrub and bears bunches of fragrant white flowers during the months of March and April. It grows abundantly in the district of Rangpur in North Bengal. During my stay in the town of Rangpur in 1935, I found whole meadows overgrown with this plant in full bloom, which was a magnificent sight to see. The fragrance emitted by these flowers regaled the nostrils of the passers-by. This plant is popularly believed by the Bengali Hindus to have the power of exorcising away the evil spirit or demon named Ghanṭākarṇa which presides over the disease known as *khosh* or itch.

Now Ghanṭākarṇa or Ghenṭu (घेंटु) was a *piśācha* or demon and was so inimical to Viṣṇu (the Preserver) that he used to hang bells from his ears in order that the ringing thereof would prevent Viṣṇu's name from entering his ears. Hence originated his name of Ghanṭākarṇa. As he was a follower of Śiva or Mahādeva, he was instructed by his patron-deity to propitiate Viṣṇu, which he did so faithfully that he ultimately obtained salvation and went to heaven. This godling Ghanṭākarṇa has not yet obtained a place in the Higher Pantheon of the Hindus. He is worshipped very early in the morning of the *Saṇkrānti* (or the last day) of the Bengali month of Fālguṇa (February–March) which falls about the month of March. No anthropomorphic image is made of this godling.

He is represented by a soot-blackened earthen pot which is plastered all over with cow's dung. Cowry-shells are stuck into this plaster of cow's dung. This pot is turned upside down. The worship is performed not by an orthodox Brahman priest but by an elderly lady of the worshipper's family. The *mantra* or prayer-formula chanted in this worship runs as follows :—

(*Text in Devanagari Script*)

घंटाकर्ण महावीर सर्बव्याथि विनाशन ।

विस्फोठकभये प्राप्ते रत्क्ष रत्क्ष महावल ॥

(*English Translation*)

1 and 2. O Ghanṭākarṇa, who is a great hero, who is very powerful and who cures all kinds of diseases, preserve all those who are stricken with the fear of boils (and itches).

After the worship is over, several boys break this earthen pot with *lāthi*-blows.

In the olden times, village-boys used to collect alms for the performance of the worship of this godling by singing a song or ballad in honour of this deity. The text of this ballad in Devanagari script, has been published by me in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XII, pages 194–97. The last line of this ballad, which furnishes the keynote of this cult, runs as follows :—

घेंटु जाय खोस् पालाय ।

(*English Translation*)

(The godling) Ghenṭu is going away and (with him) itches and boils are disappearing.

II

The next plant which I shall take up for discussion is the *Norh* (*Phyllanthus distichus*) which belongs to the Order *Euphorbiaceæ*. It is a common tree found throughout Bengal and Bihar. It possesses simple distichous leaves and bears small white and very acid berries. These berries are pickled in Bengali households. Its branchlets with the leaves attached thereto are often mistaken for pinnate leaves. A well-known congener of the *Norh*-tree is the *Āmlaki*-tree (*Phyllanthui emblica*) which bears the large white fruits called *Āmlaky*.

These fruits are candied with sugar and very highly esteemed as a delicacy. Now, the *Norh*-tree is popularly believed by the Bengali Hindus to be very antipathetic to the disease-spirit or demon which presides over the disease called *Hāma* or measles. It is for this reason that whenever a Bengali child is afflicted with measles, his or her mother or some other female relative brings a branchlet of the *Norh*-tree to the room of the sick child and chants the following Bengali verselet :—

(*Text in Devanagari Script*)

१. नोड़ नोड़ एल घरे ।

२. हाम पालालो वुरे ॥

(*English Translation*

(1) (Now that) the branchlet of the *Norh*-tree has been brought into the room (of the measles-stricken child),

(2) (The disease) measles has fled away out of fear (of the *Norh*-tree).

From this verselet, we find that the disease-spirit or demon presiding over measles is very much afraid of the *Norh*-tree.

III

The third plant with which I shall deal in this paper is the *Shaorhā* (*Streblus asper*) which belongs to the Order *Urticaceœ*. "It is a rigid gnarled shrub, *supposed to be the haunt of evil spirits.* It has diœcious flowers with inflexed stamens, which on the slightest touch jump and scatter a cloud of powdery pollen-grains.[1]

In Lower Bengal, this common tree grows in waste places and is popularly believed to be the dwelling-place of ghosts, especially of female ghosts (*petnīs*).

From an analysis of the folk-beliefs about the aforementioned three Bengal plants, we find that :—

(*a*) The spirit or being of incorporeal essence, which is supposed to dwell in the *Ghenṭu* flower (*Clerodendron infortunatum*) is a separate or apparitional soul.

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[1] *Vide A Manual of Indian Botany.* By Prof. G. C. Bose, M.A., p. 270 : Bombay, London and Glasgow : Blackie & Son., Ltd., 1920.

(*b*) It is impossible to say how the godling Ghanṭākarṇa, or Ghenṭu came to be associated with the *Ghenṭu* flower. I am inclined to think that this association has originated from a confusion of the two names which are similar to each other. The uneducated people, thinking that the names of both the flower and the godling *Ghenṭu*, jumped to the conclusion that there must be some inseparable connection between the two.

(*c*) It is strange that, notwithstanding the inseparable connection between the two, the *Ghenṭuphul* or flower does not appear to be used in the worship of the godling Ghanṭākarṇa.

(*d*) The flowers of the *Ghenṭu* plant are *white* and are not used as a remedy for the cure of itches or boils *which are not white*. Consequently, Homeopathic Magic (or the belief that "Like cures like") does not lie at the root of this cult.

(*e*) The disease-spirit, which presides over measles, also appears to be a separate or apparitional soul or being.

(*f*) I have already said above that the *Norh*-tree (*Phyllanthus distichus*) is antipathetic to the disease-spirit of measles. It is for this reason that the bringing of the branchlet of the *Norh*-tree into the room of the measles-stricken patient is believed to drive away the disease-spirit of measles.

(*g*) It is impossible to say how this antipathy between the *Norh*-tree and measles has originated.

(*h*) The complexion of the measles-stricken patient becomes *red*; while the colour of the fruits of the *Norh*-tree is *white*. As there is no similarity between the two, Homeopathic Magic cannot lie at the root of this belief.

(*i*) The folk-belief relating to the *Shaorhā* tree (*Streblu asper*) is of animistic origin, because the spirits, which are popularly supposed to haunt this tree, are ghosts which are the apparitional souls of deceased persons.

(*j*) The *Shaorhā* tree grows in desolate and waste places which are popularly believed to be the favourite haunts of ghosts and other evil spirits. Consequently, the latter are believed to dwell in the aforementioned trees. I am, therefore, inclined to think that the animistic belief about the *Shaorhā* tree (*Streblus asper*) has originated from the Association of Ideas.

THE TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

Bangalore, 10th July 1939

THE HON'BLE LT.-COL. J. H. GORDON, C.I.E., O.B.E.
(*The Hon'ble the British Resident in Mysore*)
in the Chair

THE TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING of the Mythic Society was held at the Daly Memorial Hall on Monday, the 10th July 1939, with the Hon'ble Lt.-Col. J. H. Gordon, C.I.E., O.B.E., the Hon'ble the British Resident in Mysore, in the Chair.

The General Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. S. Srikantaya, before opening the proceedings of the day, referred to the demise of the late Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, the President of the Society, in the following terms :—

"We are meeting today under the shadow of the great loss sustained by the lamented death, on Wednesday, the 5th July 1939, of our President, Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao. He was a distinguished Kannada scholar, a historian of note, a most competent educationist and a talented civil servant of the Mysore State. More than a generation ago, he wrote in English a short history on the *Progress of Mysore under Native Administration*. His *History of Mysore* in Kannada is a simple and readable narrative of events with which generations of boys and girls are familiar. Mr. Shama Rao was an ardent lover of Mysore, its traditions and its history. He was associated as a foundation-member and continued in close touch with the Mythic Society, the Karnataka Sahitya Parishat and the Bangalore Public Library and the Mysore University. He was the Father of the Co-operative Movement in Mysore, greatly responsible for its stability and uniform progress.

Recently Mr. Shama Rao published a very valuable book *Modern Mysore* in two volumes and dedicated it to our

gracious Sovereign, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. This remarkable, complete and exhaustive record of the history of Mysore, based on the unquestioned testimony of the vast volume of historical material available, is an evidence of his great patience, ripe experience, deep industry and sturdy commonsense. It is the result of his close and intimate association with Mysore, its rulers and administrators for over fifty years. Mr. Shama Rao was a member of the Committee of the Mythic Society from the very beginning: he was its Chairman for several years and later on, after the sad demise of its Founder Father Tabard a dozen years ago, he became the President. May his soul rest in peace!

It only remains for me to mention that the Mythic Society has secured a worthy successor to Mr. Shama Rao, in Rajakaryapravina N. S. Subba Rao, the distinguished Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University. A proposal to this effect will be submitted to you in due course."

Then, the Hon'ble the British Resident, the Chairman of the meeting, moved the following Resolution of Condolence:

> "The Mythic Society have learnt with profound sorrow the news of the sad demise of their venerable President Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, M.A., and in General Meeting assembled place on record the deep sense of the loss sustained by them and convey their sincere condolences to the members of the bereaved family."

Put from the Chair, the Resolution was carried, all standing.

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Mr. S. Srikantaya, General Secretary and Treasurer, next presented to the meeting the following report for the year 1938-39.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1938-39

The Committee of the Mythic Society have great pleasure in presenting you this evening a report on the Society's activities during the year 1938-39.

We are glad that our Vice-Patron His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore, has been completely restored to health and interesting himself as usual in all matters pertaining to the well-being of our beloved State.

Membership.—The Membership of the Society continues to be steady and we have 382 members on the rolls. We hope that in the current year every member will introduce to the Society at least one new member and thus help us to carry on our work in a more satisfactory manner.

By the demise, at the ripe age of eighty-five, of His Highness Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar of Baroda, one of our Vice-Patrons and a patron of Oriental learning and art, on the 7th February 1939, India has sustained a great loss and we desire to tender our most respectful condolences to His Highness the present Gaekwar of Baroda and the other members of His Highness' family.

M. G. Majumdar, a distinguished archæologist; Rajatantrapravina Sir Brajendranath Seal, a former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Mysore, a leading savant of Oriental learning and an Honorary Vice-President of our Society; Prof. Sarat Chandra Mitra, Retired Lecturer on Social Anthropology in the Calcutta University and a regular contributor to our *Journal*; K. G. Seshu Iyer, retired High Court Judge, Travancore; Rajasevanipuna S. Shamanna, Financial Secretary to the Government of Mysore and a member of the Committee of the Mythic Society; Rajasabhabhushana Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetty, a leading Mysorean, a great benefactor and an Honorary Vice-President of our Society; B. Ramaswamiah, retired Senior Assistant Commissioner, Bangalore; C. Krishna Rao, retired Deputy Director of Public Instruction, Tumkur; N. Subba Rao, retired Revenue Subdivision Officer; Dr. J. J. Fitzmaurice of K. G. F.; Prof. T. S. Venkannaiya of Mysore; Sir R. Venkataratnam Naidu, a former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras; and Dr. T. V. Arumugam Mudaliyar, a great and famous Senior Surgeon of the State, passed away during the year and we tender

our respectful condolences to the bereaved members of their families.

Meetings.—Of the Ordinary Meetings held during the year mention may be made of interesting lectures delivered on "Fundamentals of Spiritual Culture" by Sadhu Sadananda (Dr. E. G. Schulze), of Germany and "The Contribution of Indian Culture to the Twentieth Century Thought" by Mr. P. Nagaraja Rao, Fellow of the Research Department, University of Madras.

Finance.—The total receipts during the year including an opening balance of Rs. 109–7–5 were Rs. 4,466–14–1 as against Rs. 4,616–1–0 in the previous year. The total expenditure was Rs. 4,382–1–2 as against Rs. 4,902–2–3 in the previous year. The overdraft secured from the Bank of Mysore, Ltd., was reduced to Rs. 336–14–6, at the close of the year while the current dues to the Bangalore Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd., amounted to Rs. 297–11–0. We have added a sum of Rs. 200 to the Reserve Fund which now stands at Rs. 12,150–0–0.

We are grateful to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore for renewing the temporary grant of Rs. 100 per mensem for the years 1938–39 and 1939–40. We hope and pray that this temporary grant will be made permanent and augmented to at least Rs. 200 a month, so as to enable us to carry on our work on a more satisfactory scale. We appeal to public philanthropy in support of our activities which are greatly appreciated in all parts of the world where the name and reputation of Mysore are better known day by day. Funds are required to purchase books recently published, to provide book-cases to keep the numerous volumes, to construct a suitable structure to house the ever-growing library and to bring the *Catalogue* of books in the library up-to-date.

Our thanks are due to Mr. T. M. S. Subramanyam of the Bank of Mysore, Ltd., who continues to audit the accounts of the Society in an honorary capacity from the past thirteen years.

Reading Room.—The total number of visitors to the Free Reading Room attached to the Society was 3,652 as against 3,591 in the previous year. Many of the visitors go away without signing in the Visitors' Book and it is hoped that visitors will be pleased to sign their names in the Visitors' Book before departing. Daily and weekly papers are placed on the table while important and learned periodicals which are bound and preserved are easily available to the visitors also who make good use of them.

Library.—The Library of the Society possesses many rare and valuable books relating to Oriental research. Scholars from outside the State come to the Society for study and work in the library. Some important books were purchased during the year under review. The acquisition of valuable periodicals and reports of archæological and epigraphical departments continues. We appeal to all those interested in the work of this institution to present books and periodicals dealing with antiquarian research to this library. We are obliged to the Government of India: the several Governments in India, Burma, Mysore, Hyderabad, Baroda, Gwalior, Travancore and Cochin: the Universities of Mysore, Madras, Calcutta, Benares, Annamalai and Dacca: and the various authors and publishers, for sending their publications for accession to the library and for review in the *Journal.*

Journal.—The *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* maintains the high standard set for it by its promoters and is published punctually and regularly.

Exchange.—Our exchanges exceed a hundred, amongst which are included all the important periodicals of the world. They are carefully bound and preserved in the library for reference and study.

Daly Memorial Hall.—The Daly Memorial Hall and the premises continue to be maintained in proper repair and good condition. We may take this opportunity of placing on record our appreciation of the very keen and kindly interest that Sir Mirza M. Ismail is taking in adding to the outlook

and beauty of the Hall and the ready assistance which he has always extended to us in our work. The Hall is in constant demand by several institutions both in the City and Cantonment. At the request of the Committee on Constitutional Reforms in Mysore, the Hall and its amenities were placed at their disposal for holding their sessions during the year. On the recommendation of this Committee, the Government were pleased to sanction a donation of Rs. 500 for the use of the Daly Memorial Hall and our grateful thanks are due to the Government and the Chairman and the members of the Committee for this kindness. The Indian Red Cross Society, Mysore State Branch, the Society for the Promotion of Kindness to Animals and the Universal Buddha Society were among the many institutions which held their meetings in the premises of the Mythic Society.

General.—The Committee congratulate Messrs. Rajasevaprasakta A. V. Ramanathan, Rajasevaprasakta B. T. Keshavaiengar and Rajasevasatka Prof. B. M. Srikantia, on the titles conferred on them during the recent Dasara Durbar by our beloved ruler, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

We beg to express our deep debt of gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore, the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, the Government of India and the Hon'ble the British Resident in Mysore for their continued sympathy and support.

In proposing the adoption of the Report, Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao added that the membership of the Society should be augmented, referred to the keen and enthusiastic interest which the General Secretary was taking and suggested that it may even be possible to convert the Quarterly Journal of the Society into a leading monthly. Seconded by Mr. D. Venkataramiah, the proposition that the report be adopted was carried.

Election of the President

In proposing Rajakaryapravina N. S. Subba Rao, as President, Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao recounted the valuable work carried on under the distinguished Presidentship of Rev. Father Tabard and Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao and felt no doubt whatever that Mr. Subba Rao, the great historian, economist and well-known educationist that he was, with an international reputation to his credit as President of the Inter-University Board, was eminently fitted to occupy the distinguished and coveted office of the President of the Mythic Society. Mr. D. Venkataramiah, in seconding the proposal praised the work of Mr. Subba Rao as Director of Public Instruction and Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University. On being put to vote Rajakaryapravina N. S. Subba Rao was duly declared elected.

Election of Office-Bearers

Rajadharmaprasakta K. Shankaranarayana Rao in proposing the Office-bearers for the coming year remarked that the Vice-Presidents of the Society were among the leading Savants, Educationists, Administrators, Politicians and Judges and they were a great asset to the Society. He desired that the Society should place on record the eminent work which Mr. S. Srikantaya their General Secretary had been doing during all these years both as Secretary and Treasurer as well as Editor of the *Journal* and was confident that under his able guidance the Quarterly Journal of the Society would become a leading Journal in the world. Of the Branch Secretaries, Rajacharitavisarada Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao was the well-known editor of the revised *Mysore Gazetteer*, Rev. Father A. Ambruzzi, who probably would one day become the successor of Rev. Father Tabard and Rev. Father C. Browne and Mr. B. Puttaiya had established themselves in the affections of the public. Likewise, the proposed Committee comprised gentlemen reputed for their scholarship and public work. Mr. P. S. Lakshminarasu seconded the proposition. It was put to vote and carried with acclamation.

Office-bearers for 1939–40

President :

Rajakaryapravina N. S. Subba Rao, M.A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law.

Vice-Presidents :

Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., C.St.J.

Rajadharmapravina Diwan Bahadur K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, B.A., B.L.

Rajamantrapravina Diwan Bahadur P. Raghavendra Rao, B.A., B.L.

Rajasabhabhushana Diwan Bahadur K. R. Srinivasaiengar, M.A.

Rajasabhabhushana K. Chandy, B.A.

Dr. E. P. Metcalfe, D.Sc. F.Inst.P.

Sir D'Arcy Reilly.

Arthasastravisharada Mahamahopadhyaya Vidyalankara Panditaraja Dr. R. Shama Sastry, B.A., Ph.D.

Rajamantrapravina S. P. Rajagopalachari, B.A., B.L.

General Secretary and Treasurer :

S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L.

Editors :

S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L.

K. Devanathachariar, M.A.

Branch Secretaries :

Ethnology—Rajacharitavisarada Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L.

Religion—Rev. Father A. Ambruzzi, S.J., M.A. (Cantab.), F.R.H.S., D.D.

History—Rev. Father C. Browne, M.A.

Folk-lore—B. Puttaiya, B.A.

Committee :

The above *ex-officio* and Messrs.—

E. G. McAlpine, M.A., J.P.

Prof. A. R. Wadia, B.A., Bar-at-Law.

Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt.

Rajasevasakta Prof. B. M. Srikantia, M.A., B.L.
Dr. E. S. Krishnaswami Iyer.
Rev. Father D. Ferolli, S.J., D.Sc., D.D.
J. R. Isaac, B.A., M.B.E.
A. N. Raghavachar, M.A.
Dr. K. N. V. Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

The Chairman of the meeting, The Hon'ble Lt.-Col. J. H. Gordon, C.I.E., O.B.E., then delivered the following address :—

" GENTLEMEN,

It is a great pleasure to me to be present here this evening and to have the opportunity of coming into contact with the members of this Society and of learning something of the great work in the fields of Archæology and Historical Research which is being done by this Society. I must confess to some hesitation in accepting your kind invitation to preside over this gathering this evening, as I certainly feel my lack of knowledge of the subjects in which this Society is interested to be a great handicap. I am, however, here to learn and thank you for the honour which you have accorded me in asking me to preside on this occasion.

Before I proceed I should like to pay a tribute to the memory of the late Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, the President of the Society, who passed away a few days ago. As Col. Plowden remarked at a similar meeting Rao Bahadur Shama Rao was the Nestor among scholars in Mysore. For years he was the guiding spirit of the Mythic Society and his death is a very grave loss to the Society. The year under review has seen the passing of several other distinguished benefactors of the Society. The death of His late Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda is a loss both to India and the Empire. In the death of Sir Brajendranath Seal and Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetty, the Society has lost two very distinguished Honorary Vice Presidents.

I have listened with pleasure to your Annual Report and congratulate you on the excellent achievements during the

year. I am glad that the membership of the Society is well maintained and it must be grateful to His Highness for his continued support. A large membership is, however, desirable and I hope that the appeal made in the Report will meet with a large measure of response. You live in a State which is world-famous for its beauty and for its administration. You have a Ruler who is devoted to the welfare of his people and has earned the position of a deity today. You have in your Dewan an officer who is giving his whole service to the State and the people. I am sure it is a matter of which the people of Mysore should be proud.

The Mythic Society was founded thirty years ago and its record of work is remarkable. Its transactions are published in a *Journal* which has a very wide circulation. The articles in the *Journal* cover a very large field and they throw considerable light on the History of Mysore from the days of Aśoka. The excavations of the ruins at Candravalli near Chitaldrug and the recent discovery of an ancient necropolis near the Lal-Bagh at Bangalore have opened up new fields of research. Seringapatam and Mysore for Military Glory, Melkote and Sravanabelagola as centres of religious importance, Belur, Halebid and Somanathpur, far-famed as models of Hoysala architecture, are a few of the many places in Mysore rich in historic and antiquarian tradition. I am confident that your work in the future as now will greatly advance the elucidation of the History of Mysore.

I commend to your notice the report of Sir Leonard Woolley which was recently published. The following passage from his report is worthy of note:

'Archæology could and should play a far more important part than it does in the life of the Indian people. Especially for an Indian at the present time it is important that he should learn how India which he knows has come into being, understand what is in the light of what has been, and in the clashes of race and creed, should stress not the accidents of strife but the power of the Indian spirit to assimilate what

was good even in an enemy culture without sacrificing its own individuality.'

I understand that, if elected, Mr. N. S. Subba Rao is willing to fill the vacancy as the President of this Society. His distinguished career is well known to you and I am sure the Society under his able guidance will continue to flourish in the future as it has done in the past under the leadership of your late President."

Rev. Father A. Ambruzzi proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the distinguished Chairman of the evening and to the Dewan, Sir Mirza M. Ismail who was present. He also desired to thank Mr. N. S. Subba Rao for consenting to become the President of the Society and referring to the work of the Secretary, humorously added "at one time Mythic Society meant Father Tabard and Father Tabard meant the Mythic Society but now it may be said that Mythic Society is Mr. Srikantaya and Mr. Srikantaya is the Mythic Society".

Rajakaryapravina N. S. Subba Rao thanked the Hon'ble the Resident, Chairman of the meeting, Sir Mirza M. Ismail and others present for electing him the President of the Society.

With three hearty cheers to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and the Hon'ble the British Resident in Mysore, proposed by the General Secretary, the meeting terminated.

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STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY,

Statement of Receipts and Expenditure

Receipts	Amount		
	Rs.	A.	P.
1. Subscriptions—			
Resident Members	194	0	0
Mofussil Members	436	6	5
Life-Members	25	0	0
2. Government Grants—			
Government of Mysore	2,100	0	0
Government of India	300	0	0
Constitutional Reforms Committee's Donation	500	0	0
3. Recovery from Staff	20	0	0
4. Interest and Dividends	491	11	0
5. Hall Charges	32	0	0
6. Sales	161	6	0
7. Miscellaneous	96	15	3
Total ..	4,357	6	8
Opening Balance ..	109	7	5
	4,466	14	1
Ovedraft on 30–6–1939 ..	336	14	6
Grand Total ..	4,803	12	7

Reserve Fund (at Face Value) :—	Rs.	A.	P.
Government of Mysore 5 % Stock	1,500	0	0
,, $6\frac{1}{4}$% Bonds	250	0	0
,, 4 % Stock	9,800	0	0
Mysore Bank Share (one)	100	0	0
Fixed Deposit in Mysore Bank	500	0	0
Total ..	12,150	0	0

Bangalore City,
10*th July* 1939.

BANGALORE

for the year ending 30th June 1939

Payments	Rs.	A.	P.
1. Establishment—			
Pay to Staff	881	0	0
Electric Charges	147	2	0
Bicycle Account	26	3	0
Garden	81	2	0
Premises	26	6	3
Livery to Servants	20	0	0
Electrical Accessories	27	8	0
2. Journal—			
Printing and Postage	2,030	1	3
3. Library—			
Books Purchased	319	6	2
Book Binding	122	0	0
Subscription to Papers	65	11	0
Miscellaneous	42	15	0
4. Stationery	98	12	0
5. Investment	200	0	0
6. Bank Charges	32	7	0
7. Expenses on Lectures, etc.	84	0	0
8. Municipal Tax	25	0	0
9. Miscellaneous	152	7	6
Total ..	4,382	1	2
Overdarft on 1–7–1938 ..	395	8	8
	4,777	9	10
Closing Balance ..	26	2	9
Grand Total ..	4,803	12	7

Certified correct.

T. M. S. Subramaniam,
Hon. Auditor.

S. Srikantaya,
Secretary and Treasurer.

"BELIEF AND ACTION"*

I

Belief and Action is divided into two parts—the first dealing with problems of practical interest and the second mainly with Metaphysics. Viscount Samuel, the author, wishes to prove that one's belief determines the course of one's action. He sets out by focussing attention on the present confusion in the region of philosophy, politics, morals and religion and recommends a revaluation of our cherished beliefs, so that we might find a remedy for the ills that beset us. The time is out of joint and unless clearer ideas and wiser counsels prevail, the fearful march of events to endless ruin cannot be arrested. The world of today appears to show no abatement in circulating ideas under the sanction of religion and state-craft which lead the unwary to action highly detrimental to man's well-being.

In no field of human thought has there been such diversity as in religion. Each religion claims absolute infallibility and denounces the other. We have thus a world of warring creeds. Beliefs lead to action. If in mediæval times crusades under the Christian banner were undertaken, we have today the persecution of the Jews, may be on racial grounds. In India the conflict is kept alive between the temple and the mosque if not between the Crescent and the Cross. Viscount Samuel justly observes that there can be no single standardised religion and that in the province of religion the area of uncertainty is vast. "Theologians," he says, "are ready to make the most confident assertions as to the nature and actions of God" as if in the words of Matthew Arnold "He were a person in the next street". The different conceptions of God held by different religions are examined and the question is left open for calm and rational investigation. The author condemns dogmatic

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* *Belief and Action*—an Every-day Philosophy. By The Rt.-Hon'bel Viscount Samuel, P.C., G.C.B., G.B.E., Hon.D.C.L. (Oxon.), Honorary Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford.

assertions on such questions as the human soul, its immortality and other allied problems. He admits that religion for the ordinary denizen of the world is a complex of poetry, legend, parable and symbol. And it is distinct from philosophy whose province it is to investigate into the nature of reality with the aid of the dry light of reason. This does not, however, mean that views that cannot stand the test of modern scientific research may be held with consistency in the realm of faith. For, as he says "The saying current in the time of the Renaissance, that a belief may be false in philosophy or science and still be true in Theology is to be frankly discarded". He further opines that belief in mysticism and intuition is not a safe guide to action. As an example of political mysticism he quotes the following from Herr Hitler's broadcast speech, "I go my own way, with the assurance of a somnambulist the way which Providence has sent me." It may be remarked that mysticism where it is not a case of self-hypnotism plays an important part in the religious experience of saints and prophets, nor can we altogether brush aside the belief in divine 'guidance' of a man like Gandhiji. We must find room for variety in man's spiritual experience. No doubt popular Hinduism, misunderstanding the true import of the higher doctrines, has ended in fatalism and obscurantism and what counts most in the world is not the reasoned faith of the cultured class, but the belief that pervades the generality of men and it is unfortunately subversive of ordered progress. That blind belief often leads to unreasonable conduct is an unexceptionable proposition. But as the author points out all the great religions today are liberalizing. The Zeit Geist is at work and it is fervently to be hoped that discordant notes will ere long cease and that mutual toleration will prevail. The seekers after truth in the words of the author "have to emphasise rather the unity of their aim than the diversity of their approach".

What is right and what is wrong? are the two questions which the author next sets out to examine. On what basis can we determine the nature of right and wrong? In his

opinion Theology, intuition, natural rights, custom and so on have all failed to supply the right clue to the solution of these problems. Speaking of custom, he says that it ill-serves as the basis of an ethical code since it gives sanctity to habits however atrocious they may be, provided they have obtained a long currency in a particular community—"once canni balism, always cannibalism". This is not the kind of custom that Manu advocates as the author suggests. Good custom hallowed by tradition need not, Manu says, be abandoned. In judging what is right and what is wrong, Viscount Samuel says that no *a priori* principle will be found satisfactory. He compares philosophers who are striving to evolve such a principle to men who try to build houses with the roof first. The ordinary individual who is a member of a well-ordered society without troubling himself with abstract theories has solved the problem. What conduces to the welfare of society is right and what does not is wrong. An action has to be judged by the consequences it produces. Viscount Samuel is rather inclined to the Utilitarian Doctrine of Bentham but minus its extreme phase of individualism. As he very rightly observes there are no fixed laws that can guide mankind but safe rules of conduct have emerged from out of the long experience of man, from utterances of sages and prophets and from the contributions of religion.

In an interesting chapter on 'Why act Rightly' the author observes that not one but several motives impel man to right action and disuade him from a wrong one. The fear of hell and the reward of heaven which hitherto served as incentives to morality have to a large extent ceased to exercise any influence on the modern world. 'Heaven and hell have lost their vividness.' Most startling doctrines are being promulgated. The German philosopher Neitzsche said "Man shall be trained for war and women for the recreation of the warrior; all else is folly." According to some this doctrine appears to find currency in the Germany of today. As regards the application of ethical principles to the problems of social life, Viscount Samuel admits that ideas are rapidly

changing. Convention is breaking down even in India where tradition is still the strongest social force. Civil marriage, divorce, birth-control and many another innovation are finding favour with the present generation. The author advocates the continuance of the family solidarity since "the family is a standby for social morality". Ultimate welfare ought not to be sacrificed for immediate freedom. The application of the ethical principle to such questions as property and poverty and international relations is discussed with penetrating analysis and the conclusions drawn are neither too theoretical nor too utilitarian. An even balance is maintained between the ideal and the pragmatic.

Viscount Samuel is a staunch supporter of democracy and is a friend of India aspiring for freedom. He naturally condemns the totalitarian state conception as well as the fascist idea of a federation of corporations. "Human history is more than a mere struggle of apetites for material things." The Soviet organization on which some of the socialists in this country go into ecstasies has yet to earn credit for its soundness. The example of Russia may after all turn out to be a warning instead of a guide.

Viscount Samuel has little faith in the usually accepted theories—the urge, fatalism, the inexorable will, the circle theory (*Kālacakra*) of the Hindus and so on. He is a firm believer in human effort. He characterises destiny as a 'pseudo-philosophic incubus'. He admits however that it is impossible to unravel all the causes that determine man's action. Still it must be admitted by all, that red ruin will be the consequence if individuals do not hold themselves responsible for what they do but invoke Destiny to justify their conduct. Who will deny that the pacific efforts of the present British Cabinet have stayed the hand of war? If peace should prevail the conditions necessary in the opinion of Viscount Samuel are:

(1) Judicial equality of large and small states,

(2) Non-interference in the domestic affairs of others and

(3) Observance of treaties.

Are these conditions being fulfilled? Are not small states crushed and treaties regarded as scraps of paper? Viscount Samuel foreshadows (page 235) the policy which the British Government itself has to adopt if her contribution to the world peace is to be real and substantial. With all its drawbacks, democracy, he believes, is the best form of government. "The worst chamber is better than the best-ante-chamber" (page 185). His views regarding rights and duties of the individual and the nation are eminently practical and if shared by the nations at large would remove to a great extent the disharmony which now prevails. The high priests of modern political theories will do well to visualise the inevitable catastrophe that their teaching is sure to engender.

II

It is a welcome feature of this work that Lord Samuel has devoted some attention to the examination of a few of the fundamental philosophical problems on which some of the acutest minds both in the East and in the West are still engaged. The man of the world is no doubt impatient with philosophy but then to the thinker it never is jejune. The foremost question in the domain of philosophy is that of Reality. Two schools of thought have all along been contending for mastery. The idealists question the reality of external existence while the realists maintain that the world exists in its own right. The author shows his preference to realsim contending that idealism is anthropocentric. The question is whether the idealist philosophers have led philosophy into a *cul-de-sac*. None of the idealistic views quoted from Joad (page 250) corresponds to that of Śankara, the great Indian monistic philosopher of the eighth century A.D. Lord Haldane comes very near to one school of Buddhism which maintains that the objective world is only an externalisation of consciousness. Śankara is not a subjectivist like Berkeley. He holds that the world is not a mental construct but out there though it is sublated when the supreme Reality is realised. As long as the world exists it exists in its own

right. The mind, according to most Indian pilosophers, is insentient though composed of subtle elements. Both the realist and the idealist (in the Indian sense) accept the Soul as foundational. Alexander's description that "minds are the most gifted members known to us in a democracy of things" applies equally well to the Indian conception. Further, the idealist philosopher is not content with examining our waking state only. It is a common experience that the waking world gets tilted in dreams and suffers 'a stormless ship-wreck in the sullen pools of slumber', and in deep sleep is wholly lost to consciousness. Hence the need for examining all the three states when we are in search for reality. The Indian conception of idealism being thus different from its western counterpart there is no antagonism between philosophy and science and there is ample room for ethics, art and religion.

Dealing with causality and indeterminism Viscount Samuel puts in a powerful plea on behalf of causality. Events whatever their nature should all be understood as originating from ascertainable causes and not in any mysterious way. He disagrees with the findings of some of the modern scientists that 'every phenomenon is to a greater or lesser extent indeterminate.' Even where a thing is undetermined it does not warrant the conclusion that it is uncaused. Nature is never discontinuous. Things do not happen in a haphazard manner. The upholders of the 'law of emergence' maintain that sometimes there is a sudden break in the process of evolution and certain unexpected and unpredicted forms leap into being. Viscount Samuel attributes 'emergence' to a novel combination of precedent causes. The theory of indeterminency has a far-reaching effect on human conduct. If that theory be true then all efforts to leave things slightly better than what one finds them to be would be in vain. Human endeavour will be meaningful only when the world and all within it are subject to the strict laws of causation.

This work is a great contribution to the world of thought at the present juncture and ought to interest the statesman and the philosopher.

D. Venkataramiah.

REVIEWS

Brahmasiddhi. By Acārya Maṇḍanamiśra with Commentary by Śankhapāṇi. (Edited with Introduction, Appendices and Indexes by Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidyāvācaspati Professor S. Kuppaswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S.; Madras Government Oriental Manuscript Series No. 4. Price Rs. 7-12-0.)

BRAHMASIDDHI is a very rare manuscript and a very valu able one on the Siddhi literature which forms a noteworthy feature in the history of the development of Advaita philo sophy. In his introduction Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppaswami Sastriar discusses at great length the scope and the characteristic features of Siddhi literature, Maṇḍana and his relations to philosophic writers and texts and his place in and contribution to the history of Indian Philosophy. The Introduction gives us important data relating to the identity of Maṇḍana and Sureśvara and agrees with the view of Prof. Hiriyanna that Maṇḍanamiśra and Sureśvara were two different individuals maintaining strikingly divergent views within the purview of Advaitism. Prof. P. P. S. Sastri in his *Foreword* appears to believe in the wake of an earlier tradition that the two were identical, the latter being known as Viśvarūpācārya also. *Guruvamśakāvya* which expounds the Śringeri tradition may not be very accurate in certain matters with which we need not concern ourselves in this connection as for example its tradition relating to the identity of Vidyāraṇya. But as Mahāmaho pādhyāya Kuppaswami Sastriar has shown the statements contained in the *Guruvamśakāvya* in this behalf are supported by the data set out in the introduction. Thus until more evidence is available to reconcile the doctrine of differences between Maṇḍana and Sureśvara and the difficulties in the identity of the two we may have to hold with Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppaswami Sastriar that the two were different. The work is well edited and forms a very useful work on Siddhi literature.

S. S.

Catalogue of Venetian Coins in the Madras Government Museum. By T. G. Aravamuthan, M.A., B.L. (Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, New Series, General Section, Vol. III, Part 3. Price Rs. 1–8 –0.)

This bulletin is a descriptive and instructive catalogue of Venetian Coins in the Madras Government Museum and Mr. Aravamuthan has taken great trouble in preparing it. Venetians were among the earliest and most enterprising of the Europeans who were engaged in trade with Indians in the middle ages and that explains the existence of these coins though it does not follow that there was any noticeable colonisation on Indian Soil. Some references have been made by the author but they seem to furnish some evidence of travellers and globe-trotters, not any settlers with a view to trade and permanent residence in the country.

S. S.

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Library, Mysore. Vol. I. *Vedas.* (Edited by M. S. Basavalingaiya. Price Rs. 3–12–0.)

A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Library, Mysore, was a desideratum and the present work fulfils that want. The number of manuscripts is about 12,000. The library which is housed in the Jubilee Hall Library, is the nucleus of Oriental Studies and helps students of research to take advantage of the valuable works available there. In this Volume we have a descriptive list of books pertaining to Veda, Vedānga, Smṛti, Itihāsa and Purāṇa. As Mr. Basavalingaiya says in his *Introduction* the present volume contains a descriptive account of 686 manuscripts belonging to the Vedic Section of which 304 are originals.

Mādhavārya, the author of *Ṛgarthadīpika*, a manuscript describing in grammatical order the meaning of the words in the Ṛk Samhita beginning with the last Ṛk of the first varga of the third adhyāya in the first aṣtaka has given no end of trouble for his identification. He is the son of Venkatārya and

Sundari belonging to Kauśika Gōtra with the *pravaras* of Viśvāmitra, Aṣṭaka and Lohita. Coming from Gomān on the southern bank of the Cauvery river in the Cōḷa country he was also known as Mādhava, Mādhavārya and Venkatamādhava. He is different from Mādhava Bhaṭṭa quoted by Sāyaṇa and also from Mādhava brother of Sāyaṇa according to Mr. Basavalingaya but Dr. Lakshman Sarup and Dr. Kunhan Rāja regard Mādhava Bhaṭṭa as identical withVenkatamādhava. Before Sāyaṇa there were two Mādhavas who wrote the commentaries on the *Ṛg Veda* apart from another Mādhava who wrote a work on Medicine. If the author of this manuscript be posterior to Sāyaṇa according to Dr. Venkatasubbaiya who considers the work to contain unmistakable references to Sāyaṇa's commentary then there is no difficulty, but Dr. Venkatasubbaiya seems to think that the author is earlier in date than Sāyaṇa. Personally I believe that it was unnecessary to include a discussion on this topic in the Introduction, and differences of opinion might have been mentioned in the proper place.

S. S.

Bhavasaṅkrānti Sūtra and Nāgarjuna's Bhavasaṅkrānti Śāstra with the Commentary of Maitreyanātha. (By Paṇḍit N. Aiyaswami Sastri. (Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras.)

Bhavasaṅkrānti Sūtra, *Nāgārjuna's Bhavasaṅkrānti Śāstra* and *Maitreyanātha's Bhavasaṅkrānti Tīka* are three important works of the Mahāyāna School of Buddhism dealing with the theory of rebirth. The Śāstra and the Tīka appear at first sight to be independent of the Sūtra but a close examination reveals their various connections by reason of the quotations made in them from the Sūtra with or without naming the source.

The Sūtra is in the form of a dialogue between the Buddha and Bimbisāra, King of Magadha. The author of the Śāstra appears to be Nāgārjuna, the celebrated author of *Mādhyamika*

Śāstra, who lived about 200 A.D. and that of the Tīka is one Maitreyanātha who lived between the seventh century A.D. and 1058 A.D. It is doubtful if this Maitreyanātha could be the author of Tāntric works or one who belonged to Śrīparvata. But there is no doubt that he is an advocate of the doctrine of Sūnyata as preached by the Mādhyamikas.

The Sanskrit originals of each of these three works, the Sūtra, the Śāstra and the Tīka, have been lost but their Tibetan versions exist in the case of all the three and Chinese translations in the case of all except the Tīka. The Sūtra has three Chinese translations and one Tibetan; the Śāstra three Tibetan representing two Tibetan versions and one Chinese; and the Tīka one Tibetan and no Chinese translation. Paṇḍit N. Aiyaswami Sastri has restored them into Sanskrit by re-translating from the Tibetan and Chinese versions preserved in the Adyar Library.

This present publication contains the restored Sanskrit originals, the Tibetan versions, English translation of the Śāstra, English summary of the Tīka (Commentary) and English translations of the three Chinese versions and one Tibetan version of the Sūtra. Those of the Chinese versions have the additional merit of being revised by the late Dr. Sylvain Levi of Paris. The four translations of the Sūtra are given in parallel columns for the reader's convenience.

The subject-matter of the Sūtra is the theory of rebirth according to Saṅkrāntivādins. Except Bodhiruci's all the other translations of the Sūtra agree that none of the elements (*dharma*) transmigrates from this world. But Bodhiruci alone states that 'there really is one *dharma* (element) going from this world into the future world'. Thus the title Bhavasaṅkrānti means transference (*Saṅkrānti*) of life flux (*Bhava*). Bodhiruci's version is the earliest in point of time and appears to be the original. The later ones have adopted it to other schools of Buddhism.

The three recensions of the Śāstra called *Parikatha*, *Madhyama* and *Bhāvabheda* deal with identical subject-matter with or without divisions into chapters as follows:

(i) The unreality of all the separate elements of existence, (ii) The unreality of the five skāndhas, (iii) The highest widsom, (iv) Devices (*Upāya*) and (v) Two kinds of truth. The title of these recensions appears to be synonymously used, meaning "Crossing away (*Saṅkrānti*) from worldy existence (*Bhāva*)" into Buddhahood direct, without intermediate stages. All these three works, the *Sūtra*, the *Śāstra* and the *Tīka* are meant to instruct us on the way to attain the omniscience of the Tathāgata whose nature is Dharmakāya or Dharmadhāta also called Sūnyata by way of a metaphor.

It is in the fitness of things that this very valuable publication is dedicated to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, almost the first to introduce Chinese and Tibetan studies in India. The excellence and importance of this work is very ably put by the late savant Dr. Selvyn Levi as follows: "Your (Paṇḍit Aiyaswami Sastri's) Sanskrit rendering looks clear, easy, fluent. I wish you may go on with that sort of work.....the recovering of a big part of the past too long forgotten and this is the way open to an Eastern 'renaissance'."

P. S. L.

Annual Report of the Archæological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions for the year 1344 F/1934–35 and 1345 F/1935-36.

In the year 1934–35 the work of excavation was conducted mainly in the Wārangal fort. The access to Ajanta was made through and complete and at Elura the mounds which were obstructing a clear view of the caves were removed. Appendix D contains an inscription which shows the advancement of the Kondavidy kingdom beyond Kṛṣṇa and gives the *birudas* of the Ana-vema of Vadapạlli that he was the establisher of the Keladi Rāya.

Appendix A of the *Report* for 1935–36 contains a note on the survey of the Neolithic sites of the western taluqas of the Raichur Distict. The excavations at Māski produced very

satisfactory results. The finds contained a large variety of lazuli, carnelian, onyx, crystal and garnet besides a great variety of terra-cotta coins, figurines and a mould of seal belonging to the first or second century B.C. Many of the terra-cotta articles are described by Mr. Yazadni in Appendix B. There are the human and animal figurines, beads, circular discs with groves around their circumference and wheels of toy-carts and human figurines belonging to different periods, for instance one representing a woman with a long trunk and short legs is very primitive and bears striking resemblance to similar figurines found in the Mediterranean countries, particularly Malta but somehow, good models and ornamental work appear to be of a later period, like the fourth or third century B.C. The horse is not a very familiar figure, being crudely made. The character of the terra-cotta articles appear to be of the first or second century B.C. judging from the impression of the seal on a small baked disc. Māski was thus an important pre-historic centre.

S. S.

Concepts of Buddhism. By Dr. B. C. Law, Ph.D., M.A., B.L. (Published by H. J. Paris, Esq., 104, Keizersgreht, Utigever, Amsterdam C. Price 2·50 *f.* bound or 5*s.* 6*d.*)

Dr. B. C. Law in this work deals with the important concepts of Buddhism from *ṅaraṇa* to *Nirvāṇa*. To a Buddhist *Śaraṇas* are the triad, the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha, and a member of the Holy Order is called a Bhikkhu. The concepts of *Pāramita* (perfection) is examined in various aspects. In the stage of spiritual evolution, a Buddhist aspirant should have the arhatship and the virtues and qualities which tend towards making a Buddha. *Pāramita* is thus an ideal in the path. Regarding the number of *pāramis* the author states that "any surmise or conclusion drawn on the basis of the incomplete test of the Cariyapitaka regarding the number of *pāramis* is apt to be misleading". The *Theravāda* school counts the *pāramis* as ten while according to the

Sarvastivāda school it is less. The ten *pāramis* are *Dāna*, *Sīla*, *Nekkhamma*, *Paññā*, *Viriya*, *Khānti*, *Sacca*, *Adhiṭṭhāna*, *Mettā*, and *Upekkhā* and these are explained with reference to various texts. The prince Siddhārtha before attaining Bodhi found that these *pāramitas* were the only means of attaining Buddhahood. *Jāti* and *Varṇa* are ordinary expressions to denote what is meant by caste. In Pali the terms *Jātivibhanga* or *Jātibheda* are used as a sense of distinction. The Buddhist approaches this all comprehensive term *Jāti* from three different points of view, biological, occupational and cultural and the author examines each aspect in detail. The four castes, Brahma, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra do not represent *Jāti;* for instance, a Brahmin is not a Brahman by mere birth.

The two chapters on *Ariyasaccas* (four noble truths) regarded as the quintessence of Buddhism and the *Ariya Aṭṭhaṅgika Magga* (noble eightfold path) repay close study. The *Ariyasaccas* consist of the four truths. *Dukkha* (suffering), *Sukkhasamudaya* (origin of suffering), *Dukkhanirodha* (cessation of suffering) and *Dukkhanirodha gāminīpaṭipadā* (the path leading to the cessation of the suffering). After describing the *Samādhi*, a free and pure state of consciousness, on attaining which a person is no longer affected by the vicissitudes of life, is lively depicted. The golden mean *Majjha* or *Madhya*, is explained in the verse of the Dhammapada:

> '" Not by nakedness, not by plaited hair, not by dust, not by fasting, not by lying on the bare ground, not by rubbing with dust and not by sitting motionless, one can purify oneself, if one is not free from desire."

The doctrine of *Paṭiccasamuppāda* (dependent origination) which is the fundamental concept of Buddhism as a system of thought is introduced as *Majjha* or the golden mean. " It is by this *Majjha* that the founder of the system is said to have established his position avoiding the two extremes of *atthi* and *natthi*, theism and atheism, eternalism and annihilationism, fatalism and determinism and the theory of chance or fortuitous origination and of moral freedom and bondage."

"The term *dharma* is so devised as to comprehend real, realised and *reality*, actual, actualised and *actuality*, phenomenon, phenomenal and *phenomenality*, matter, material and *materiality*, mind, mental and *mentality*, cause, caused and *causality*, law, legal and *legality*, thought, thinking and *thinkability*, and the like; in short, the entire universe of reality and appearance, truth and opinion, thought and expression, principle and action, in and through which all things and all individuals may realise their being, feel their existence, rise into recognition, move into action or proceed to perfection. That is to say, *dharma* is not only that which was, is or shall be in itself in its inherent right or in its nature or characteristic form, but that which comes to happen or prevail on account of its inherent force or intrinsic merit or value."

P. B. R.

Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1935-36. (Edited by J. F. Blakiston, C.I.E., Director-General of Archæology in India. Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi. Price Rs. 15 or 24*sh.*)

THE story of archæological work in India is the story of financial embarrassments and insufficient funds. As in the West public bodies and philanthropists are not much interested in the work of the Archæological Department and in India the burden heavily lies on the Government to support it. Hence, with no small pleasure, we welcome the advent of a foreign expedition to India, namely, the American School of Iranian and Indic Studies headed by Dr. E. J. H. Mackey and we hope that other learned societies from America and other lands will be attracted to the fertile field that awaits them in Indian Archæology. Speaking of Mysore itself there are the Candravalli ruins near Chitaldrug, the ancient necropolis near the Lal-Bagh at Bangalore, the ruins of Tarakanambi in the Mysore District and others elsewhere which provide a considerable field for research but which for lack of funds and sustained interest in the workers are held up.

Excavations at Chanhudāro in Sind have shown unmistakable evidence of the presence of remains contemporary with those of Mohenjo-dāro and Harappā, the so-called Indus Valley Civilization. Dr. Mackey suggests Harappā Culture for the Indus Valley Civilization but Sir John Marshall and others do not accept it, apparently for the reason that the term the Indus Valley Civilization is undoubtedly more comprehensive. The discovery that the people of the two uppermost strata were alien to the Harappā Culture and to each other is an important advance in the study of the dark period some thousand years in duration between the decline in the Harappā Culture and the coming of the Āryan-speaking people. The painted pottery of the unknown people of the Jhukar Culture in the second stratum down shows little or no affinity with the earlier Harappā which were found in the two strata below: both in the designs upon it, its fabric and the fact that much of it were painted in polychrome. The people who brought this culture seem to have arrived fairly soon after the desertion of the mound by the Harappā people and in their turn they had to leave after only a short occupation, as the River Indus threatened to wash their homes altogether. No inscriptions have been found in the Jhukar level so far. The drainage system is well planned as at Mohenjo-dāro: bath-room, latrine, drain pipes, etc., testify to expert sanitation. Lauriya-Nandangarh must have been a place of considerable importance from early times as evidenced by its Aśokan pillar and the large number of mounds or burrows in its close vicinity situated on the banks of the narrow and winding channels issuing from the Sikrahana, a branch of the Gandak river. The mounds at this place attracted the attention of European explorers in the early part of the nineteenth century and Cunningham and others have reported of it but a systematic attempt was made to study in the early part of this century by Dr. Bloch who pronounced the mounds to be 'Royal Tombs' corresponding to the burial tumuli mentioned in the Vedic literature and assigned them to the pre-Mauryan epoch. The discovery of the pre-Vedic remains

in the Indus Valley and elsewhere necessitated a consideration of the views of Dr. Bloch. A detailed account of the exploration by Mr. Majumdar is given on pages 55–66. In mound A was found a silver-punch marked coin of round shape picked up in the course of excavations from the north-east slope practically from the surface of the mound. The coin shows on one side a jumble of many symbols among which can be recognized a dot within a square, solar symbol and caduceus. The *stupa* was perhaps so early as the pre-Mauryan times and undoubtedly belonging to pre-Christian epoch. Excavation in mound B does not lead to the discovery of any human remains. In mound N a gold leaf was discovered bearing a nude figure of a female with exaggerated hips, standing in a strictly frontal pose, with the arms hanging down along her sides and wearing the girdle and disc-shaped ear-ornament. Mound N seems to furnish an analogy of the Vedic tumulus to which reference might be drawn from the tenth maṇḍala of the *Ṛg Veda*, where the names are invoked during the funeral rite 'to hold the pillar' in the other hymn, the maiden Prithvi, the earth goddess, is invoked during the funeral to protect the dead from the abode of destruction, the earth goddess being identifiable with the nude figure on the gold leaf. Mr. Majumadar is of opinion that it is wrong to call them Vedic burial mounds. Although the tumuli may have some connection with Vedic customs, they are not to be regarded as of the Vedic age. Dr. Bloch called them pre-Mauryan but not Vedic. A similar gold leaf found inside the *stupa* at Piprahwa in Basti District, U.P., was assigned to the third or fourth century B.C. Recently some stone rings were discovered at the Bhir mound in Taxila, at Sanksia and at Madura containing a similar female figure. So also another stone ring with identical decorations but without the female figure at the Mauryan level at Kodamkaun in Patna bearing a name in Aśokan Brahmi was found. These show that the earliest date which can be assigned to all these cannot be later than the third century B.C. As a former date has no place in the Buddhist Pantheon of the

early centuries before Christ, it may be concluded as Dr. Coomaraswami says that she represents the survival of a pre-Buddhistic divinity and also that the custom of depositing her likeness along with cremated human remains as a pre-Buddhistic origin, but however ancient such representations may be it cannot be identified with certainity with the Vedic earth goddess. The earliest reference to the *stupa* occurred perhaps in *Mahaparinibhana-suttanta* (*Digha-Nikaya*, XVI. 5. 11) where Buddha told his disciple Ananda that the *stupa* containing the remains of his body, after it had been burnt on the funeral pyre, should be erected for himself at the crossing of four highways in the same manner as the *stupa* of a high monarch. This suggests that there was no distinction in form, between the royal tomb and a Buddhist *stupa*. The custom of erecting a *stupa* was so prevalent even before Buddha and was merely copied by his followers. In the Vedic texts dealing with burial, we find that those people also had the custom of raising earthern burial mounds in which were deposited the bones of the dead. The bones used to be collected after cremation and buried in a tumulus. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to the erection of a four-cornered earthen mound outside the village for this purpose, showing that the Easterners made their *Śmaśāna* round in shape.

Excavations at Bairat, the traditional site of the Capital of Virāta and the well-known find-spot of two Aśokan edicts, contains perhaps the oldest known structure in Northern India and one of these supplied models for the numerous rock-cut temples of Western and Eastern India. The exploration shows, however, that the period of the ruins may be ascribed from 140 B.C. to the second century A.D. There is a total absence of the representation of the Buddhists in any form supporting the now well-established view that the Buddha image was not in vogue until about the second century A.D.

Section VI refers to the work of the Archæological Chemist concerned with preservative treatment. Mr. Sana Ullah

made preliminary experiments with wet paper pulp for the elimination of salt from the sculptures, as recommended by Sir Alexander Scott of the British Museum Research Laboratory. The experiment was considered efficient. These paper pulps work satisfactorily to remove the sea-salt but the elimination of growth on sculptures other than the sea-salt has got to be attempted by this method.

S. S.

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